

FEBRUARY 16, 1987

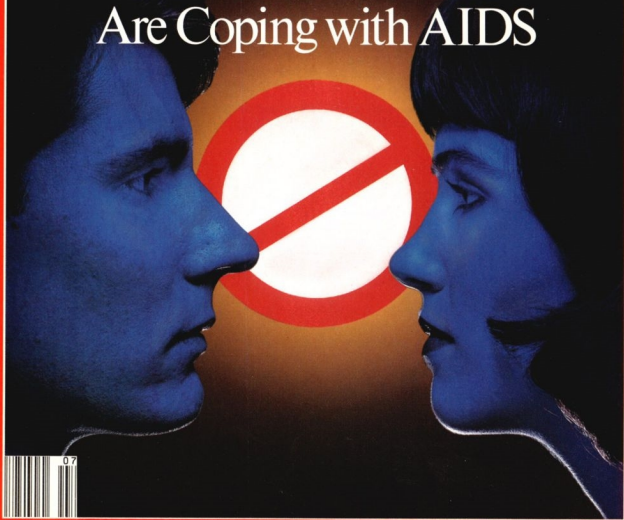
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# TIME

## THE BIG CHILL

How Heterosexuals  
Are Coping with AIDS

Restructuring  
American  
Business



00001

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A close-up, low-angle shot of the front left corner of a dark-colored car. The car's body is mostly in shadow, with the headlight and side mirror catching some light. The headlight is illuminated, showing a warm orange glow. The background is a plain, light color.

**VISION.**



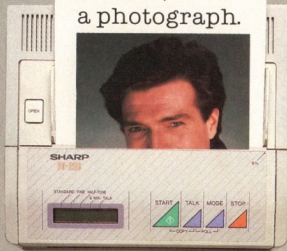
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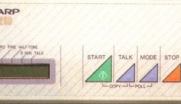


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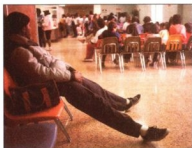
## COVER: As AIDS spreads, heterosexuals 50 must face the threat of deadly sex

The disease is moving beyond the homosexual world, forcing many American men and women to surrender the sexual freedoms of the past two decades in favor of a more cautious life-style. ▶ As the number of victims climbs, comparisons between AIDS and the great epidemics in history become plausible. ▶ Deaths in Africa reach 50,000, and millions more are at risk. See LIVING.



## NATION: At long last, the welfare 18 system might get a radical overhaul

There will be no overnight cures, but New York Senator Moynihan calls the emerging consensus for reform a "rare alignment" that could effect worthwhile change. ▶ Robert Gates succeeds his ailing mentor William Casey as CIA Director. ▶ Gary Hart is the *Voyager* of American politics: lean, proficient and built for the long haul.



## BUSINESS: Corporate America rebuilds 44 to meet the challenge of the '80s

All across the U.S., companies are making themselves over from the ground up, relentlessly examining the efficiency and effectiveness of everything they do. As a result, everyone from floor sweepers to senior executives must face the possibility of losing jobs, while entire communities struggle with plant closings. How well the process works may depend on the firm involved.



### 32 World

A U.S. show of force in the Middle East as the hostage war drags on. ▶ Kissinger and friends pay a call on Gorbachev in Moscow. ▶ Filipino voters resoundingly endorse Aquino and her new constitution. ▶ A Colombian drug lord is captured. ▶ South Africa's white election campaign opens with anti-American blasts.

### 60 Press

The *contras* often occupy the headlines, but reporters are no longer allowed to see how the U.S.-backed rebels are faring in the field.

### 69 Books

The genealogy of an American dynasty animates *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys*. ▶ *Laugh-In* and mystery meet in letters.

### 66 Sport

Triumphantly, Skipper Dennis Conner finishes his three-year quest and brings home the America's Cup, brimming with Aussie good cheer.

### 79 Video

Soviet teenagers talked about nuclear arms and adults tried not to talk about abortion when Phil Donahue took his show to the U.S.S.R.

### 68 Music

After a \$50 million renovation, how do the fabled acoustics of Carnegie Hall sound? Brilliant, in both the good sense and the bad.

### 82 Show Business

Liberal, who camped up the classics and became a synonym for glorious excess during an unlikely but enduring career, dies at 67.

### 12 Letters 61 Education 62 Religion 62 Milestones 67 People 76 Cinema

**Cover:**  
Designed by Christian Piper, photographed by Roberto Brosan

## A Letter from the Publisher

Working on this week's main cover story about AIDS and the singles scene, Martha Smilgis discovered that many men and women were reluctant to talk about the fact that a casual affair could bring on the deadly virus. "In the bars, it's tricky to ask about AIDS," says Associate Editor Smilgis, who wrote the story. "Most people still think it's a gay disease and haven't really thought much about the problem. Your question begins a process of education."

Smilgis' own education in the subject began while she was Los Angeles bureau chief for PEOPLE magazine from 1982 to 1986. From there, she co-ordinated the cover story on the last days of Rock Hudson and the effects of the crisis on the homosexual community. "Often, a specter of death seems to hang around the victims," she notes. Therefore she was shocked to hear that a business acquaintance had died of AIDS two months after she had praised him "for looking fit and trim." Assessing the potential for heterosexual transmission is complicated by the virus' long incubation period. "What we don't know is exactly how this virus works and how it will affect the population ten years from now," Smilgis says. "There are many unknowns. That's very scary."

Smilgis came to TIME in 1974 as an editorial assistant in the Nation section. The next year she left the magazine for SPORTS



Smilgis: "In the bars, it's tricky to ask about AIDS"

ILLUSTRATED, where she did her best to parlay a political-science degree earned at the University of California, Berkeley, into the skills required to cover baseball and soccer. She began a three-year writing stint at PEOPLE magazine in 1977, where she both interviewed celebrities and braved the disco and drug dens of New York City for articles. In 1980 she became TIME's show-business correspondent in Los Angeles, then worked there for PEOPLE, and has now come home, we feel, to write and plan pieces for the Living section. "This story is a perfect example of what the section can do," says Smilgis.

"It treats a social issue from a human viewpoint, taking the temperature and mood of the country while explaining exactly what is at stake."

Two companion stories round out our coverage of the AIDS phenomenon. Associate Editor Claudia Wallis examines the ability of U.S. doctors to deal with the 270,000 cases expected by 1991, and Staff Writer Michael Serrill explores the lessons to be learned from the battle against the virus in Africa, where the disease appears to be raging in pandemic proportions.

Robert L. Miller

Turner: "I've been doing three to four hits a year."

Nicholson: "That many."

Turner: "Well, it's not many if you consider the size of the population."

Kathleen Turner and Jack Nicholson  
- Prizzi's Honor  
July 3, 1986. On HBO.

Prizzi's Honor. Back to the Future. Out of Africa. Ghostbusters. Cocoon. Return of the Jedi.  
Rambo: First Blood Part II. Gremlins. The Jewel of the Nile.

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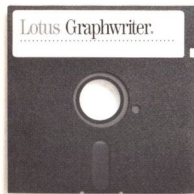
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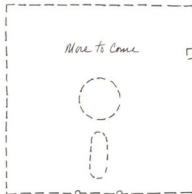
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## Letters

### Platoon's Power

To the Editors:

What Oliver Stone expressed in the movie *Platoon* [SHOW BUSINESS, Jan. 26] is what I have tried to explain to friends. After I saw the film, I told them, "Now you've been to Nam." Stone's focus on detail was right, with only one aspect missing: the smell. Although I am back in the world, I find the scars of Nam are deep.

Dean J. Moretti  
Lackawanna, N.Y.



I was 16 when I went to see *Platoon*. I walked out feeling like an 80-year-old.

Wendy Kim  
New York City

By portraying U.S. soldiers who served in Viet Nam as murderers, torturers, rapists and drug users, *Platoon* does not show the war "the way it really was." Dedication, patriotism and compassion were more characteristic of the American G.I. than was the brutality shown in the movie. It is no surprise that the film appeals to many Americans who opposed or avoided Viet Nam service. They can partake in the horror of the war from the safety of a theater and then feel they have shared our experience and learned to understand us. Having undergone this catharsis, they feel absolved of their failure to support us during the war or recognize us afterward.

John E. Padgett  
Novato, Calif.

It took Stone 20 years to tell his story. The Vietnamese have yet to air theirs. In every major happening about Viet Nam—culminating in the debacle of 1975, as a result of which 500,000 ended up in America—it does not matter that the Vietnamese are reduced to pathetic victims and shadowy figures. Viet Nam, then as now, is continually being used as a testing ground for the cause and glory of others.

Thank God, *Platoon* finally explains and vindicates the actions of a number of vets in that horrendous ordeal that we

called the Viet Nam War. But how about the Vietnamese? After a war of fratricide, a million deaths and an end to a way of life, who has listened to us? At best we remain only scratches in the dark unconscious of American minds.

Thai A. Nguyen-Khoa  
Oakland

Once again the picture of a ruthless American soldier holding a gun to the head of a child has become the symbol of the Viet Nam vet. There was nothing special about the infantry rifle platoon I served with. We were a diverse bunch of kids who made the best of a rotten situation. We didn't kill one another. We took care of one another. We didn't kill civilians. We gave them medical assistance. We didn't even burn down villages.

Kenneth M. Boyd  
Norristown, Pa.

### Heavenly Doubts

As a deeply committed Christian, I am angered to read of how Oral Roberts is using our Lord's name to further his own goals [RELIGION, Jan. 26]. In casting the pall of hucksterism over his ministry, he not only hurts his cause but brings a shadow of doubt to legitimate ministries for Christ. I am saddened to think of the hard-earned money given by good people because of their trust in this "man of God." It is spiritual blackmail. If any good comes of all this, it will be through the grace of God and in spite of Oral Roberts, not because of him.

M. Judith Gardner  
Austin

You made Oral Roberts sound like a hustler. Why is it that you never seem to have an article on him and people like him except when they say something you don't understand or when there is a so-called scandal? Why don't you ever report on the good things that men like Oral Roberts do?

Cindy Sloppy  
Pollock Pines, Calif.

Roberts' claim that God could call him home in March if he does not raise \$4.5 million is a disgrace to Christians everywhere. How can he possibly suggest that our God could be so petty as to resort to blackmail like some kind of terrorist? Oral Roberts should be ashamed.

W. Scott Gureck  
Orlando

### Landmark Law

The U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the California law requiring employers to provide job security for women on maternity leave [NATION, Jan. 26] is best viewed not solely as a victory for women but also as a victory for families. We must recognize that the American family is changing. We need to redefine

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For only \$10 a month you can sponsor a child like Michelle, and discover the real meaning of love!

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You will know who you are directly helping and your child will know who you are and that it is your love that is making a better life possible for her.

Photos, letters and reports will draw you close to each other . . . you'll feel your child's love and gratitude.

And best of all, you'll follow her progress, watch her grow, and *discover for yourself* how much your love can accomplish!

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But you can sponsor a child through Holy Land Christian Mission International for only \$10 a month.

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And this is a full sponsorship program, because for \$10 a month you will receive:

- a 3 1/2" x 5" photograph of the child you are helping.
- two personal letters from your child each year.

- a complete Sponsorship Kit with your child's personal history and a special report about the country where your child lives.
- quarterly issues of "Sponsorship News"
- periodic updated photos so you can follow your child's progress.

And, though you are not obligated to write to your child, you may write as often as you wish and send Christmas and birthday cards.

## Your \$10 a month will help provide so much for your child:

- emergency food, clothing and medical care.
- a chance to attend school.
- help for the child's family and community to become self-sufficient.

## Here's how you can become a sponsor immediately.

Just fill out the coupon now and tell us if you want to sponsor a boy or girl, and check the country of your choice.

Or better yet, check the "emergency" box and we will assign a child to you who needs you most.

Then, mail the coupon, along with your first month's payment of \$10.

Then—in just a few days you will receive your initial Sponsorship Kit with your child's name, photograph and case history.

And you will be on your way to discovering the real meaning of love.

☐ Yes, I wish to sponsor a child. Enclosed is my first payment of \$10. Please assign me a ☐ Boy ☐ Girl

Country preference: ☐ India ☐ The Philippines ☐ Thailand

☐ Chile ☐ Honduras ☐ Dominican Republic ☐ Colombia

☐ Guatemala ☐ Holy Land Crippled Child

☐ OR, choose a child that needs my help from your  
**EMERGENCY LIST.**

☐ Please send me more information about sponsoring a child.

☐ I can't sponsor a child now, but wish to make a  
contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

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what it means to be a family, and in doing so we must activate new government and company policies to facilitate the development and strength of our new families.

Kathleen V. Williams  
Pasadena, Calif.

Women may be hailing the Supreme Court's decision to guarantee a woman her job back after a four-month leave of absence for pregnancy, but in my little business I'm simply not going to hire anyone who has a prayer of getting pregnant. A large company may be able to afford to keep a job open, but a small business with two or three employees cannot.

James E. Hildebrand  
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

I am a working mother who was faced with having to leave a new baby or suffer a loss of income by giving up a well-paying job. But my employer has allowed me to bring my six-week-old infant to the office with me. This arrangement has been beneficial for me and my employer.

Julie DeLeon  
Canoga Park, Calif.

### Money Matters

TIME stated in its story "Pursuing the Money Connections" [NATION, Dec. 15] that the General Accounting Office "reported . . . that the State Department was unable to account definitively for some \$17 million of the \$27 million that Congress had authorized for the [humanitarian-assistance] program." On the contrary, the State Department has accounted definitively on the humanitarian-assistance funds to the intelligence committees of the House and Senate, which have maintained oversight of this program. The GAO only stated that it was unable to independently verify that fact.

Congressional review of intelligence matters rests with the intelligence committees. Intelligence has never been a subject for GAO review. Regardless of the GAO's understandable inability to verify expenditures under the humanitarian-assistance program, the State Department established a sound monitoring system to do so, and has been able to account for those funds to the satisfaction of the intelligence committees of the House and the Senate, which received all intelligence reports on the subject.

Elliott Abrams  
Assistant Secretary of State  
for Inter-American Affairs  
Washington

### Good Guy, Bad Guy

The Claude Dallas who killed two game wardens and is now on the run [AMERICAN SCENE, Jan. 26] was a sick man. But what can one say about the "good citizens" of southern Idaho who are making a hero of him? In Minnesota, we respect and admire conservation officers.

## Letters

Sportsmen support their enforcement activities by involvement in the TIP (Turn In Poachers) program. In Idaho, it appears they don't even turn in murderers.

Joseph S. Hensel  
Rochester, Minn.

We too raise cattle and horses, hunt and trap, and treasure our vanishing Old West heritage. And we protect our wildlife. We do not entrust the naming of heroes to those too shortsighted to see the value of game laws and wardens. A Wild West without wild animals would be little more than a movie set, where people play good guys and bad guys in a landscape empty of everything but human pretense.

Joy Fatooh  
Benton, Calif.

Please be advised that the vast majority of Westerners do not accept even the poaching of game animals, much less the killing of wardens. Believe it or not, the West has been settled and laws are obeyed almost every day now.

Jim Aumiller  
Rock Springs, Wyo.

### Not Present

An article on the Peter Pulitzer-Roxanne Pulitzer divorce trial [NATION, Oct. 11, 1982] stated that I "assisted in running periodic bedroom séances" in which a black cape and trumpet were used. I did not assist, nor was I present at any such séances.

Janis Nelson  
Gainesville, Fla.

While Janis Nelson performed some psychic readings for Roxanne Pulitzer, she conducted no séances for her. TIME regrets the error.

### Leave the Sailing to Us

You should be careful in reporting on the America's Cup race [SPORT, Jan. 26]. Please leave the sailing jargon to the sailors. *Stars & Stripes*' crew did not hoist a new sheet, as reported. They did hoist a new sail, and undoubtedly they trimmed that sail by pulling on a sheet.

James B. Nash  
Northville, Mich.

TIME regrets the error.








### Age of Crystal

We are a nation of "faddicts." We raced from Häagen-Dazs ice cream to New Zealand fruit, from outdoor hot tubs to indoor tanning salons. Now we have entered the New Age of "crystal consciousness" [LIVING, Jan. 19]. Will our long quest end here? Or will our "faddiction" deliver us, inexorably, into even more wondrous realms? We must wait, breathlessly—but I expect not very long—to know.

Jack McBroom  
Bethesda, Md.

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<b>AN AMERICAN WEREWOLF IN LONDON</b> 7140062	<b>SOUTH PACIFIC</b> 3056112	<b>THE CARPENTERS MOVIE II</b> 1462052	<b>THE CARPENTERS MOVIE II</b> 1462052	<b>LA CAJON FOLIES</b> 0512012	<b>LA CAJON FOLIES</b> 0512012
<b>THE ALAMO</b> 0517202	<b>PAITON</b> 0540032	<b>THE CARPENTERS MOVIE II</b> 1462052	<b>THE CARPENTERS MOVIE II</b> 1462052	<b>LA CAJON FOLIES</b> 0512012	<b>LA CAJON FOLIES</b> 0512012
					
<b>SPIES LIKE US</b> 6170062	<b>DELTA FORCE</b> 3383012	<b>AFTER HOURS</b> 6167062	<b>DOWN AND OUT IN BEVERLY HILLS</b> 5426052	<b>RETURN OF THE JEDI</b> 3547042	<b>GUNG HO</b> 4225012
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<b>WITNESS</b> 4118062	<b>AN OFFICER AND A GENTLEMAN</b> 2021192	<b>MARTY FOPKINS</b> 5276062	<b>PRIVATE BENJAMIN</b> 0818072		
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<b>POPPY RAIN</b> 0805342	<b>RE-ANIMATOR</b> 4847062	<b>WHITE NIGHTS</b> 1814042	<b>A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET</b> 3308022		
<b>WEST SIDE STORY</b> 1514072	<b>THE SWORD IN THE STONE</b> 3409062	<b>ELIOT'S FIRE</b> 1805072			
<b>LAWRENCE OF ARABIA</b> 0554182	<b>2001: A SPACE ODYSSEY</b> 5178032	<b>QUINN</b> 5251052			
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## Letters

### The Readers Speak: 1986's Mail

"I salute..." "I was agast..." "I was thrilled..." "I must take exception..." "I am astonished..." "I am fed up..." TIME's readers are not a shy lot. They have strong opinions, and last year 46,000 of them felt impelled to tell the editors what was on their minds. Some praised, some damned, but all in some way reacted emphatically to the vast range of news that TIME covers each week.

The event that drew the greatest response came early in the year: the *Challenger* disaster. The Feb. 10 cover report on the tragedy drew the largest number of letters of any single story in 1986, with 1,580 readers agonizing over the annihilation in the sky. From as far away as Singapore, they wrote, "To the American people, we share your grief. We cried too." In the ensuing months, another 1,800 readers conveyed their sorrow, their anger at NASA and their concern for the future of America's space program.

At year's end an equally disturbing chain of events, the Iran-*contra* scandal, elicited almost as many letters. Even before the Iran arms deal made news, President Reagan was losing ground with TIME readers, as evidenced by their response to the July 7 cover story on Reagan's popularity. Five hundred readers weighed in with their views then and, almost 2 to 1, declared that the magic of the Reagan presidency is simply a "triumph of style over substance." Loyalists repeatedly made the point that "after 20 years of wimps in the White House," Reagan is just what the country needs. But the year-end developments produced an anti-Reagan tide. By 4 to 1, readers lambasted him ("The President will be known in history not as the Great Communicator but as the Great Prevaricator").

Not surprisingly, coverage of this controversy renewed the epistolary debate over the responsibility of the press. By 3 to 1, readers did not hesitate to castigate TIME as a villain in the drama. One wrote, "If the presidency has been wounded, you and your colleagues should look in the mirror for the ones holding the gun." But others were not so quick to condemn, saying, "I thank God for the American press, left, right and center."

Events in the Philippines drew almost as much mail over the year as the Iran scandal. The revolution that ousted Ferdinand Marcos and installed Corason Aquino as President prompted spirited comment from more than 1,500 readers. Overwhelmingly, they endorsed Aquino. Wrote one: "Just a housewife" never

sounded inspirational until Aquino taught world politicians about civilized conduct."

No such unanimity of opinion reigned over other topics of national and international significance. Readers were evenly divided over the U.S. attack on Libya: President Reagan's decision to bomb Tripoli was denounced as "vigilante justice" and also applauded ("Terrorists speak only one language, and replies to terrorism must be delivered by bombs"). As for America's role in opposing South Africa's system of apartheid, some thought U.S. opposition did not go far enough: "The President's lack of action must make Abe Lincoln toss and weep in his grave." Others preferred a go-slow approach. Said one: "Thankfully, there are those like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher who realize that reform is a process, not an act." Similarly, no clear reader consensus emerged in the reaction to the President's performance at Reykjavik. Reagan either "preserved the Western world" or blundered with his "life-and-death commitment to SDI." On aid to the *contras*, readers denounced it 3 to 1, describing the package as "death, grief and destruction, not aid."

Among America's summer celebrations, the June 16 American Best special issue generated 622 letters both cheering (a "lovely present to lay at Miss Liberty's feet") and jeering ("mindless self-glorification"). The report on the July 4 Statue of Liberty celebration brought in dozens of thank-yous for a memorable review of the festivities, as well as suggestions that the commercialism of the birthday obscured Liberty's real meaning.

The more elusive questions of ethics, morality and the common good were also debated by TIME readers throughout 1986. NATION's July 21 coverage of the shift to moral

measures commission's report on pornography brought in 827 letters. Add to that the responses to TIME's coverage of the Supreme Court's ruling on Georgia's sodomy ban, textbooks on trial, the classroom teaching of evolution and sex education, and the total came to more than 1,700 letters. A large majority came down against government intervention in these matters: "Morality cannot be legislated."

A far more vehement response greeted Religion's Feb. 17 cover story on Televangelist Pat Robertson, which drew 742 letters. One reader spoke for the majority when he wrote, "I just do not think all this multimillion-dollar hoopla about God on TV was exactly what Jesus had in mind." Robertson's presidential ambitions left most readers unimpressed: "The last thing this country needs is a Baptist Khomeini."

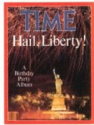
The year's mail brought in challenges to TIME's own ethical and moral values. On that subject, letter writers expressed the full range of emotions, from mild annoyance to incoherent outrage. No picture rankled more than the March 24 photograph of the unclad cast of *Oh! Calcutta!*, which was described as "reprehensible, disgusting and pornographic," and no story offended more sensibilities than Ralph and Wanda's "tasteless and vulgar" discussion of orgasm. Together they generated 300 letters. On the other hand, many readers praised TIME for its reporting on AIDS and on illicit drugs.

As always, TIME readers remain fervent guardians of grammar and style. No fewer than 730 letter writers looked beyond events and twitted editors about their punctuation, spelling and syntax. More than anything else, readers wanted a consensus in the press on Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi/Khadafy/Gadafi. Declared one: "The spelling of the Libyan dictator's name is just as equivocal as his actions."

Perhaps the most touching reader response of the year arose in reaction to a letter from Margie Brauer, the wife of a Carolina farmer, which formed part of a Nation story. Her plaintive cry for a little consideration from the court-appointed trustee in the bankruptcy proceedings against her family farm elicited dozens of requests for her address and prompted some readers to send money. More than \$1,000 and 500 deutsche marks were forwarded to Brauer.

Letters are the major link between TIME's readers and editors, and that is why the mail is followed so avidly. Amid the complaints and applause, the vilification and bravos, there is often one small voice that says it best. In 1986 that voice belonged to a 90-year-old ex-schoolteacher from Iowa who wrote, "Letters are the best part of the magazine. They are the pulse of the public and stimulate my life."

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# Fixing Welfare

*A consensus is emerging on the need for radical reform*

**T**he criticisms are such timeworn staples of conservative oratory that by now anyone who reads about welfare can reel them off from memory. The system is a monstrous mess: it breaks up families, traps the poor in degrading idleness and breeds a self-perpetuating cycle of illegitimacy, poverty and government dependency. It must be changed by training or even forcing people who get public assistance to become productive members of society. Move them off the welfare rolls and onto payrolls.

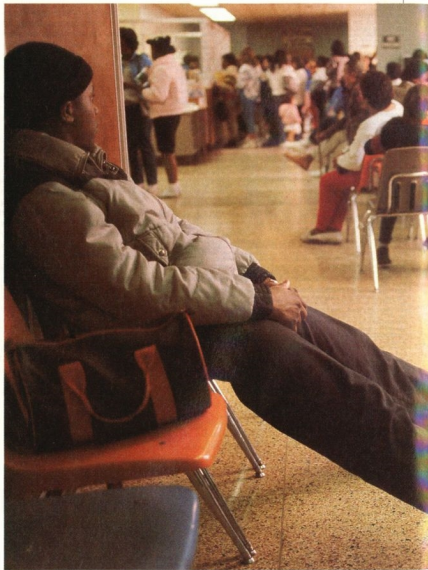
So what is new about welfare reform? Three things: 1) such rhetoric now resounds across the political spectrum, from Ronald Reagan to Daniel Patrick Moynihan to Ted Kennedy, and reflects an emerging consensus that embraces just about every politician who speaks on the issue; 2) states from California through Illinois to New Jersey are experimenting with overhauls of their welfare systems, focused on work requirements, and the Federal Government is talking about giving their efforts a formal blessing; 3) as a result, and at long last, something worthwhile might actually be done. Pondering the diverse sources and remarkably similar conclusions of a clutch of recent proposals, Senator Moynihan, a New York Democrat and lifelong student of the welfare system, finds in them a social analogue to a "rare alignment of the sun, the moon and the earth that causes all manner of natural wonders."

Not that anyone expects the creaky 50-year-old system of providing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and other welfare services to be transformed overnight. The problems of training and finding jobs for welfare recipients—teenage girls who drop out of school to have illegitimate children, to take the most stark example—are immense. In the long run, money could be saved if a significant number of long-term welfare recipients could be placed in unsubsidized jobs and more absent fathers could be required to contribute to the support of children they have abandoned. But there is a problem: the additional billions it would initially cost to train and supervise welfare clients who are required to work, to supply day care for their children, and eventually to provide

government jobs for those who cannot find employment in the private economy.

Nonetheless, the momentum for welfare reform is building rapidly. Since late November, welfare overhauls have been advocated by four high-level bodies: the

American Public Welfare Association, a coalition of welfare administrators; the Project on the Welfare of Families, a group led by moderates of both parties; a task force appointed by New York Governor Mario Cuomo; and a working group of the



A system in disarray: waiting for assistance in a Long Beach, Calif., welfare office

White House Domestic Policy Council. The National Governors' Association has scheduled a vote Feb. 24 on a welfare reform plan, featuring work, training or study obligations for recipients, including mothers of children age 3 or more; approval is expected. In his budget message last week, Republican Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey proposed a plan that would require all able-bodied welfare recipients, except mothers of children age 2 or younger, to take jobs, return to school or enroll in training programs.

On the federal level President Reagan has talked of a GROW (Greater Opportunities through Work) program, but has not yet sent a bill to Congress. When he does, it is expected to concentrate on encouraging widespread state and local pilot projects, largely by waiving restrictive federal rules that now inhibit them. In his Saturday radio talk, the President picked up on that theme by inviting Governors to

the White House this month to discuss welfare reforms in which states play a greater role. Kennedy is in the game as well. Last week he introduced a bill that would give sizable federal "bonuses" to states that succeed in placing long-term welfare clients in private jobs. Kennedy and Moynihan will probably cooperate on drafting a broader reform bill; Moynihan, who chairs a subcommittee holding hearings on welfare, hopes to produce it as early as next month.

The focus of the reform movement, and the central problem, is AFDC. It is not the only welfare program; the Reagan Administration has issued a much disputed count of 59 federally assisted plans that it considers welfare. Nor is AFDC the biggest; Medicaid accounts for nearly three times as much spending. But AFDC is the principal program that gives cash to people who are neither sick nor disabled; they qualify solely because they have children

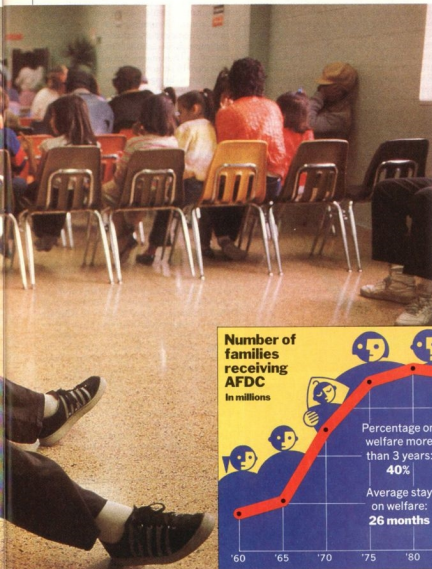
they cannot support. As such, it is the program that most people think of when they use the word welfare.

AFDC began in 1935 as a little-noticed part of the Social Security Act; it was conceived as a program to tide widows and their children over until the Social Security survivors' fund could pay out claims. Expanded and made independent, AFDC has since mushroomed into a program that last year rang up \$2 billion in federal, state and local administrative costs and dispensed an estimated \$15.8 billion in benefits to 3.7 million families comprising 11 million people. Almost half of AFDC recipients these days are mothers who have never been married to the father of their children, and 40% more are those whose husbands have left home.

**W**elfare programs are run by the states, which set their own eligibility rules and benefit levels within guidelines established by Washington. The Federal Government pays, on the average, 54% of the costs. In about half of the states, families in which both a mother and a father are present can receive benefits, but in the other half only single-parent households qualify. Benefit levels vary widely: in Alabama, for example, a family of three gets about \$4,000 a year in AFDC and food-stamp benefits; in Alaska such a family gets about \$11,500. Some state officials feel that the system must be reformed on a nationwide basis so that recipients do not have an incentive to move to places where the benefits are more generous.

In recent years the nation has been conducting what amounts to an ad hoc experiment in discouraging welfare applicants. Under Reagan Administration prodding, states have tightened eligibility rules. Partly as a result, the number of AFDC families peaked at 3.9 million in 1981 and has declined slightly since. Benefit increases since 1970 have lagged so far behind inflation that the real value of combined federal and state AFDC grants has plummeted 33%.

But parsimony has failed to push people off the relief rolls and into jobs, and the manifold social evils associated with AFDC have only been getting worse. Poverty rates have generally risen since the late '70s, and the rise has been especially rapid among the children the system was designed to help. Welfare mothers who rear children who in turn go on relief are a core element of the so-called underclass. David Ellwood, a Harvard authority on welfare, figures that a quarter of all AFDC recipients have received benefits, off and on, for ten years or more; at any one time they constitute a startling 60% of all recipients. The rise of illegitimate births, especially among ghetto teenagers, has probably done more to turn middle-class Americans against AFDC than anything else.



The issue of whether welfare in fact encourages illegitimate births has been hotly debated. Most studies show there is no direct causal relationship. But the AFDC program, by its very nature, inevitably provides some economic incentives for the creation of single-parent families. It offers a steady (though meager) income to young women if they decide to have children they cannot support. It may encourage irresponsible men to father children without worrying how to provide for them. And it can produce a situation where a father with a low-paying job may feel forced to leave home so that his children can qualify for more benefits.

The root problem, say most reformers, is that AFDC does not require recipients to do anything in exchange for their benefits. Indeed, as presently administered, AFDC actively discourages work, in keeping with the bygone society of its origin, which simply assumed that most women would devote themselves to housekeeping and child rearing. Says Moynihan: "AFDC is unable to command stable political support. A program that was designed to pay mothers to stay at home with their children cannot succeed when we now observe most mothers going out to work."

The central idea of the reform movement is a "new social contract" between government and welfare recipient. That concept is not just a vague metaphor: a project in California requires AFDC applicants to sign individual contracts pledging to return to school, enroll in training programs or look for jobs. The welfare-reform report that the National Governors' Association is expected to approve this month calls for making such a system nationwide.

Such contracts, however, would not be one-sided. Besides supplying cash grants, the state would provide job training and assist welfare recipients in looking for work. It might also pledge to subsidize day care for the children of working or studying AFDC parents, and to continue Medicaid or underwrite equivalent health insurance for those who find jobs. Conservatives are increasingly willing to accept such changes in return for the key concession from liberals to impose obligations on welfare clients.

Some other potential elements of welfare reform still stir fierce dispute, occasionally among surprising combatants. Don Fraser, the liberal Democratic mayor of Minneapolis, advocates barring new benefits to a welfare mother, married or unmarried, who bears a second child. Says he: "Those who increase their dependency by having additional children while on welfare are not likely to work very hard to get off of it." He has been publicly opposed by his wife Arvonne, a senior fellow at the University of Minnesota. Her view: "Once you've got kids you can't get rid of them, and we just don't



**A welfare participant on the job in a Chicago factory**  
*Making the move from the dole to the payroll.*

have as many married people living together supporting kids as we used to."

But an impressive consensus is forming on some other components of a welfare-reform program, beyond work and study requirements. Under 1984 federal legislation, states can pursue fathers across state lines and force them to contribute to the support of AFDC families. Some states have launched vigorous enforcement programs. "We work with the mother to find out as much information about the father as we can," says Dan Pittman of the Illinois department of public aid. "Then we tap into the federal Parent Locator Service," which conducts a computer search for the missing father. Once he is found, Illinois will have his

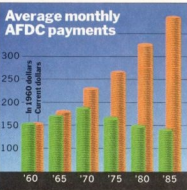
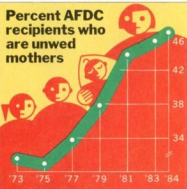
wages attached or take slices of his federal or state tax refunds. Wisconsin will collect 17% of an absent father's income if he has one child, 25% if he has two. Men might benefit from one other reform idea: there is some talk in Congress of requiring all states to extend AFDC to two-parent families. The system as it now stands is widely believed to encourage fathers to desert their families, and to discourage unwed AFDC mothers from marrying the fathers of their children.

The report of the New York task force on poverty and welfare gives one of the most detailed outlines of what a comprehensive overhaul might be like. The key idea is to convert welfare into a

"short-term support program that helps those who can to achieve self-sufficiency." The group proposes a transitional program during which AFDC parents would sign contracts spelling out their obligations. Teen parents would be required to complete high school. Others would be placed in training programs or helped to find jobs. In return they would get benefits sufficient to bring family income up to the poverty line (currently \$10,989 for a family of four). But the benefits would be limited to three years on the average. "Failure to carry out [contracts] would subject the recipient to some degree of sanction"—presumably a cut in benefits, though the task force did not specify. Welfare recipients who completed their contracts and still could not find employment would be "assigned to jobs in public agencies or nonprofit organizations."

No program quite that thorough is in effect anywhere yet, and none is likely to be soon. One reason is the price tag. The New York task force estimates that three parts of its plan—subsidized child care, educational and training expenses and administration of the guaranteed-jobs program—would cost \$5.9 billion a year if applied nationally. States do not have that kind of money and are unlikely to wheedle it out of Washington in an era of giant budget deficits. Consequently, any reforms along the lines of those proposed by the New York group and other commissions will probably be phased in gradually.

But many states are making a start. Massachusetts and California claim impressive results from "workfare" programs. The one in Massachusetts, called ET, is voluntary, but California's Project GAIN is mandatory. Nine states submitted to the White House Domestic Policy Council proposals for demonstration projects that they hope will get federal approval. North Carolina would require all able-bodied recipients to satisfy a minimum work requirement in exchange for benefits. Pennsylvania proposed to reward welfare clients who got full-time jobs with cash grants for day care, medical insurance for one year and a cash subsidy if their wages did not equal the benefits they were getting on welfare.





Controversy still rages around many details of a welfare-reform program. Should work be required only from mothers of school-age children (roughly age 6 or older) or from parents of youngsters as young as 3? What should be done about mothers who continue to have babies and thus avoid the work requirements? What should be done about welfare parents who refuse to work or drop out of training programs; if their benefits are cut off, would that not amount to punishing the children for the sins of the parent? And will jobs be available in an economy where the unemployment rate for years has stubbornly hung at 7% or higher? The New York task force pithily observes that "job placement programs cannot work without jobs." Pete du Pont, the conservative former Governor of Delaware who is now running for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination, proposes that the Government become the employer of last resort, and that might be extremely expensive.

Some experts believe the economic



Kennedy greets a graduate of Massachusetts welfare

*Liberals and conservatives search for common ground.*

climate is about to turn propitious for welfare reform. The competition for jobs that resulted when the baby-boom generation reached working age is becoming a thing of the past. In the 1990s fewer people—those born during the baby bust, the period of low birth rates that began in 1965—will be looking for jobs. Says the Domestic Policy Council: "The baby bust

will make it easier to lift America's welfare recipients up from dependency. Plenty of jobs will be available in the private economy, and at wage rates that will provide an adequate living. Welfare recipients will be able to fill those jobs, provided they have both the motivation and the proper preparation."

The political climate is also propitious for overhauling the welfare system. AFDC is such a mess that, as presently administered, it has few staunch defenders. Liberals and conservatives, despite continued squabbling, have reached a rare measure of agreement on at least the essentials of a reform plan. That agreement is seconded by most welfare recipients; the

New York report, like most other studies, finds that "evidence from around the country indicates that most people who receive public assistance would rather work." The task during the period of experimentation that is beginning is to find the best and most practicable mix of methods to help them do just that. —By George J. Church, Reported by Anne Constable and Hays Gorey/Washington

## Sounder of Alarms

Once again, Daniel Patrick Moynihan is sounding the alarm. While other politicians talk moderately of reform, the Democratic Senator from New York wants to scrap the basic federal welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). That system, established 50 years ago to provide temporary relief for widows, was never meant to address the long-term problem of poor children in broken homes, he argues, and it certainly has proved incapable of coping with the "changed reality" of a country with 3.8 million poor, single-parent families.

As the chairman of the Senate subcommittee that deals with welfare, Moynihan has launched hearings on ways to replace the system. The former Harvard professor is an astute analyst of demographic trends, and these days he is frightened by what he sees: the nation's median family income is hovering at the same level it was 17 years ago, the stable two-parent family is becoming the exception rather than the norm, and 12 million children are growing up in poverty and with inadequate training for the job market. If the U.S. does not take drastic action soon, he warns, "then we will have demonstrated an incapacity which could weaken American society in a way that nothing else ever could."

After three decades as an architect of social policy, the erudite and garrulous Senator with an impish face and patrician accent has attained a reputation for prescience. Back in 1965, when he was serving as an Assistant Secretary of Labor, he wrote a report, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, that provoked a searing controversy. Using the work of Black Sociologists Kenneth Clark and E. Franklin Frazier, Moynihan contended that the growing number of one-

parent families living on welfare was preventing blacks from achieving true equality in American society. If the trend did not stop, he charged, the triumphs of the civil rights movement might be dissipated. The Moynihan report became a lightning rod for ideological fury. Critics faulted the study's methods, but they seemed most upset by the author's use of provocative expressions like a "tangle of pathology" to describe the black family breakdown.

As the deterioration of family structure among poor blacks worsened through the 1970s, social theorists began to take a second, and more respectful, look at Moynihan's work. In his 1986 book on welfare policy, *Family and Nation*, the Senator proudly wrote, "At the end of two decades, it was at some level accepted, as if a proposition in science had bested competing hypotheses." Although he has upset liberals with his iconoclastic approach to social programs, Moynihan also opposes conservative theorists like Charles Murray who argue that the Great Society programs of the '60s have worsened poverty in America. Charges Moynihan: "What Charles Murray seems to be saying is that the reason we are having problems is that we tried to do something about them."

Moynihan speaks of replacing AFDC with a "national family policy" to promote the preservation of two-parent households. Such a program would force fathers to support their children and compel able-bodied mothers with children over age three to work. It would also establish a national minimum standard of living: federal aid would be provided to families that could not achieve the minimum through earnings or child-support payments. The Senator is confident that sooner or later the nation will find new ways to approach the dilemma of its impoverished families. "Americans will say, 'Enough!'" declares Moynihan. "We can't let this happen to our children!"



"We can't let this happen!"

## Nation



The prospective director before Congress last year: trying for a new relationship

### Casey's Well-Groomed Successor

*New CIA Chief Robert Gates must restore the agency's image*

The frail old man sat in a wheelchair, his emaciated right arm hanging limply in his lap, his eyes staring vacantly overhead. His lip was curled, as if he had lost control of his facial muscles, and his bald pate bore the green marks that are used for radiation treatments. As a nurse guided his wheelchair out of a hospital elevator, only the presence of an escort with an official-looking radio suggested that this was a special patient: William

Casey, until last week the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Casey's resignation followed increasingly widespread rumors in Washington about his debilitated condition. When the CIA Director was hospitalized in December and underwent surgery for the removal of a malignant brain tumor, President Reagan at first refused to discuss replacing him, believing it would slow Casey's recovery. CIA spokesmen insisted their

boss was "reading and absorbing" reports and taking telephone calls, but others who saw Casey were skeptical that he could take telephone calls from anyone. Indeed, Administration sources confirm that the President's aides have communicated with the Director principally through CIA officials and his wife Sophia, who actually signed Casey's letter of resignation.

Thus, it came as no surprise when the White House finally announced that Casey, 73, would step down from the post he had held since 1981. To smooth the departure, he was designated a special counselor to the President. Reagan's 1980 campaign manager and close friend will assume the new duties when he feels well enough to do so.

The desire for a smooth transition also seemed to be a factor in choosing the new Director of Central Intelligence: Robert Gates, a 20-year CIA veteran and Casey protégé who has been running the agency since Casey was hospitalized. Gates, who at 43 is the youngest Director ever named, is expected to help restore the CIA's public image and repair its damaged relations with Congress. Says former CIA Director Richard Helms: "They wanted a pro, and Bob's a pro."

Gates has a doctorate in Russian and Soviet history and in the 1970s spent nearly six years on loan to the National Security Council staff, where he worked for Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski. A career analyst, Gates had no experience in CIA intelligence-gathering operations until he became Casey's deputy in April. Although his demeanor is mild, Gates once wrote a blistering critique of the CIA's ill-focused analytical process,

### Can We Talk?

Leaks are to Washington as cars are to Detroit. "Unauthorized disclosures" are the capital's chief commodity, and recently the city has had to cope with a surplus. Before the Senate Intelligence Committee managed to finish its probe of the Iran-contras affair last month, several versions of its report got into circulation prematurely. Minnesota's David Durenberger, the ranking Republican, even slipped the findings to Ronald Reagan; word of that indiscretion also leaked, provoking a minor uproar.

The new Senate Select Committee probing Intransigence is determined to avoid such unseemliness. To shield its investigation from political gossip as well as foreign intelligence services, the committee will move into a new \$350,000 suite in the Hart Office Building that is designed to be leakproof. Staff members will talk on bug-proof telephones, type on hacker-proof word processors and sign out research material from a "secure documents room." The offices will be protected by code-

locked doors staffed around the clock by armed guards. Exterior walls will be implanted with electronic sensors to detect intruders.

The National Security Agency will sweep the site for bugs before construction begins later this month. The committee will take the additional precaution of discussing sensitive matters inside a top-secret "bubble," a conference room constructed of steel



ILLUSTRATION BY BOB THOMAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

panels impervious to external listening devices. The human factor has been secured as well: staff members will soon sign a mandatory "nondisclosure oath" promising to stay mum.

The new digs will allow the Senate investigators to review the hundreds of electronic intercepts, CIA files and covert-operation reports that may bear on the widening arms-for-hostages scandal. But one committee member wryly suggests that the extensive security precautions may be the best guarantee that information will get out. If Washington runs on leaks, says Alabama Democrat Howell Heflin, secrecy fuels the process. "You have to build all these top-secret, eyes-only bubbles in order that there can be leakin'," Heflin insists. "That's what it comes down to."

and in 1981 Casey picked him to sharpen the agency's information-reporting procedures. The results helped to restore the CIA's reputation after a succession of intelligence failures during the Carter Administration. Today, says State Department Deputy Secretary John Whitehead, "the agency is amazing. I can ask for an arcane report in the evening, and it will be on my desk in the morning."

Gates' closeness to Casey has prompted speculation about his role in the Iran-*contra* scandal. The Senate Intelligence Committee has noted that Gates was aware of the possibility of illegal diversion of Iran-arms profits to the Nicaraguan *contras* last October, more than a month before Attorney General Edwin Meese discovered the scheme and reported it to the President. When Gates heard of the diversion from a CIA desk officer, the Intelligence Committee reported, he and Casey did nothing more than ask National Security Council Aide Oliver North if their agency was involved. After North assured them the CIA was "completely clean," neither Casey nor Gates took any official action.

Although Gates will undoubtedly be questioned closely about Iran-*contra* during confirmation hearings before the Senate Intelligence Committee next week, Committee Chairman David Boren says the session will not serve "as an inquisition on the Iran affair." Says Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont: "People up here are willing to give [Gates] the benefit of the doubt. He's going to give members of Congress a comfortable rather than confrontational feeling."

This will be in sharp contrast to Casey, who resented having to testify on Capitol Hill and was notorious for his mumbblings and evasions. An unpublished Intelligence Committee draft on Iran found that Casey was "less than candid" in his testimony just before his hospitalization. Casey's penchant for hiding clandestine operations also led to clashes with Congress. The 1984 mining of Nicaraguan harbors, for instance, was a foreign relations disaster that spurred the legislators to cut off aid to the *contras*.

While Iran threatens to remain a blot on Casey's record, many in Washington agree that the former Director revived an agency demoralized by budget cuts and scandal. His clout with the President helped to triple the CIA budget and elevate the Director of Central Intelligence to Cabinet rank. As Director, Casey also achieved greater cooperation than ever before among the nation's eleven intelligence organizations.

But Casey's aggressive style and zeal for clandestine operations could prove to be the undoing of everything he achieved if the agency is once more battered by multiple investigations. As the CIA's ailing chief struggles to recover his health at Georgetown University Hospital, colleagues hope his well-groomed successor can protect and consolidate his legacy. —By Nancy Traver.

Reported by Barrett Seaman and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

## Faith in a True Believer

*Oliver North draws support from conservatives and charismatics*

**S**hortly before 6:30 each weekday, the gray Toyota station wagon glides down the driveway and stops a few feet beyond the steel security fence in Great Falls, Va. Lieut. Colonel Oliver North rolls down his window to greet the watching press corps shivering in the dark. Ever cordial, the former National Security Council aide exchanges light banter with the group. A photographer warns him that an accident is already clogging commuter traffic, and North retorts in mock dismay, "You mean I have to listen to the news?" A few flashbulbs pop and North speeds down the narrow country road to U.S. Marine Corps headquarters near the Pentagon, where he has been assigned a routine desk job writing briefing memos for the Service Plans and Policy section.

North's career and reputation have fallen into limbo since Nov. 25, when he was fired by Ronald Reagan for his central role in the Iran-*contra* scandal. The

tance Fund, established by North's friends in the Marines. The Conservative Caucus, a right-wing lobbying group, is also using North's name as a hook to solicit funds for the *contras*. The confusingly named Oliver North Defense Committee has raised \$40,000 that will be used to lobby Congress for more aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.

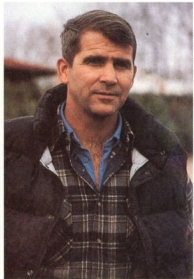
North's most devoted supporters are the evangelical Christians with whom he shares a passionate faith. Although North was raised as a Roman Catholic, he is an active member of the Church of the Apostles, an Episcopal congregation in Fairfax, Va., noted for its charismatic practices. Members of this congregation offer special prayers for him. Virginia-based Televangelist Pat Robertson dubbed the Marine a "sacificial lamb" on his Christian Broadcast Network. In his present straits, North derives considerable solace from his religion. "His faith has been very important in this time of stress," says North's friend and fellow parishioner John Mumford.

In charismatic churches, worshippers occasionally experience faith healings and speaking in tongues (glossolalia). Despite his hectic schedule on the National Security Council, North always tried to find time for his faith. He attended Sunday services at the Church of the Apostles and participated in Bible studies at the monthly men's fellowship meetings. "He wasn't a celebrity," Mumford recalls. "He was there to worship just like the rest of us."

Among the NSC staff, Colonel North was discreet about his beliefs, but he has eagerly shared his experiences with outsiders. Two years ago, he told a complete stranger about a healing he had undergone. The Rev. Stephen King, an evangelical pastor at the Cherrydale Baptist Church in Arlington, Va., recalls that North sat down next to him in a barber shop and joyously recounted how a few years before he had been contorted by wracking back pain while in the field with a group of officers. One of the officers, a fellow charismatic, knelt down before North and prayed fervently. Moments later, North reported, his backache vanished. "He has a personal relationship with Jesus Christ," says King. "It's a driving force in his life."

Only a few of North's White House colleagues were aware of the depth of his faith. In his current straits, however, religious belief has apparently become more important to the swashbuckling Marine—and more visible than ever. At the parking lot of Marine headquarters in Arlington, Va., North's gray station wagon is easily spotted. Alongside similar autos sporting SEMPER FI decals, North's car displays only one bumper sticker, the popular prolife slogan, GOD IS PROLIF-IC.

—By Alessandra Stanley/Washington



At ease and waiting in Virginia

But unwelcome in Washington.

man whom the President described as a "national hero" has become a pariah to the embattled Administration. White House aides depict North as an overzealous underling who misled his colleagues and superiors and perverted the President's foreign policy. When a high-ranking Reagan official asked about inviting North for dinner, the State Department's legal adviser, Abraham Sofaer, told him to "forget it."

But while the former NSC aide has been ostracized by official Washington, conservative admirers have rallied to his cause. North says he has received more than 10,000 letters of support from across the country, and some \$60,000 has been donated to the Oliver North Legal Assis-



# Winning Hearts Through Minds

*Hart plays the politics of antipolitics*



Though he nearly won the Democratic nomination in 1984, former Colorado Senator Gary Hart remains an enigma to many. This is the second in a series of profiles exploring the personalities and characters of the major 1988 contenders.

Lost in thought, he fiddles with his fingers, rubbing his left hand with his right as though it were a kind of talisman. It is a nervous habit, something he does before nearly every public appearance. At 7:15 a.m., Gary Hart, his black cowboy boots bur-nished, his blue pinstripe suit neatly pressed, stands in the corner of the windowless waiting room at ABC before going on *Good Morning America*. He is there to promote *The Strategies of Zeus*, his recently published spy novel about arms talks in Geneva. Watching the monitor, he hears the announcer telling viewers that is ahead: "... and we'll be talking with Gary Hart about the presidential election of 1988." Hart groans. "Oh, no," and then smiles sheepishly, as if to say, What can one expect?

Hart winces at being depicted as a political animal; his manner can suggest that he would be more at home reading (or writing) a book. Yet as he leans against the doorway waiting to go on the air, the 1988 race is clearly on his mind. "What voters are tired of," he says earnestly, "is the ideological President." Presidents, he declares, should not be afraid of creative ideas, of searching for fresh approaches. "It's a state of mind. Kennedy had it. Roosevelt had it." Hart's Mount Rushmore face becomes very serious. "Voters," he says, "want competence. They want someone who knows Washington but is not a captive of it." Someone like Gary Hart? "Light bulb," Hart replies, a smile brightening his face as he strides into the artificial sunshine of the studio.

Gary Warren Hart, 50, the shy, jug-eared boy from Ottawa, Kansas, who graduated from Bethany Nazarene College in central Oklahoma and then from Yale's Divinity and Law Schools, the volunteer for both John and Robert Kennedy who engineered George McGovern's capture of the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination, portrayed himself in 1984 as the man who would move his party and the country into a new age. It almost worked. Now the self-described antipolitician is in the un-acustomed position of being the front runner for the Democratic nomination, and, for the moment, he is biding his time. Lean and efficient, Hart is the *Voyager* of American politics—carefully designed, technically innovative and built for a long haul.

Ever since Walter Mondale deflated his 1984 campaign with a single question—"Where's the beef?"—Hart has been

constructing an impressive fortress of ideas. He has delivered a series of scholarly speeches on foreign affairs and industrial policy. He opposes restrictions on trade like tariffs and quotas and advocates a restructuring of Third World debt. In a speech last month, Hart proposed an overhaul of the U.S. education system featuring stricter accountability for teachers and offering educational retraining for adults. To help finance this multibillion-dollar proposal, he would impose a \$10-per-bbl. fee on imported oil and make cuts in military and agriculture programs. Although Hart had one of the most liberal voting records in the Senate, he has cast himself as a nonideological technocrat intent on steering the Democratic party away from traditional interest-group liberalism.

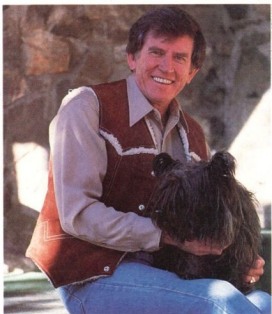
Yet in a curious way, Hart the man seems hidden behind the edifice of his ideas. He sometimes appears to wield his detailed understanding of issues as a kind of personal shield. He admits that Mondale's question probed deeper than policy particulars. "Fritz touched a nerve when he sort of questioned who I was," says Hart from behind the desk of his rather spartan Denver law office. "What he was really saying was, 'Is this guy well-grounded enough to govern this country?'" Hart can answer the question that stymies many other candidates: Why are you running for President? But he still seems uneasy with the question that bothers few others: Who are you?

Up close, Hart seems warmer, more natural than he was in 1984. While he still ticks away with an intensity that is sometimes scary, he no longer seems to regard a smile and a chuckle as a sign of superficiality. He will occasionally mention his two children, his parents, his upbringing in the strict Church of the Nazarene, things he shied away from before. Hart realizes that this time around, he must be as adept in talking about the messenger as the message.

During the 1984 campaign, Hart was pricked by questions about discrepancies in accounts of his age (he was born in 1936, not 1937 as one official résumé said) and the shortening of his name from Hartpence. The points grew in significance when Hart faltered in explaining them. His aides recently persuaded him to write an autobiographical article, "One Man's Luck," that would answer those lingering questions and dispel the sense that he was detached from his own roots. The article, which has not been published, reveals much about Hart's boyhood and his early hopes and dreams but offers only the most cursory explanation of his failure to recall the year of his birth. In recent appearances, Hart has routinely

made self-deprecating jokes about his age. Yet when a reporter brings up the age issue during a relaxed dinner at a Florida restaurant, Hart turns wintry and abrupt. Pronouncing each word slowly, frostily, he says, "People . . . just . . . don't . . . care."

Arms control brings passion to Hart's voice like no other issue. Frank Connaughton, the sympathetic protagonist in his new novel, is a rangy, rugged arms-control negotiator from Montana who risks his career and reputation to get an agreement in Geneva. In his farewell speech to the Senate, Hart offered his own arms-control policy: a 50% reduction in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, a nuclear test ban and a moratorium on the development of cruise missiles. His foreign policy views are almost the opposite of Ronald Reagan's. The underlying problem in Central America, Hart argues, is poverty, not the threat of Soviet influence. He advocates what he calls "enlightened engagement," a policy that relies primarily on economic and diplomatic initiatives rather than the threat of military force.



The contender: still hidden behind the edifice of his ideas

Hart is good in small groups. One recent afternoon in Nashua, N.H., two dozen local residents gather in the living room of Fred and Beth Yochum. Hart enters the room a bit diffidently, like the new boy at school going to his first class. Soon he is chatting easily and naturally. He is friendly but formal: an inner calculus determines the precise space to put between himself and each person. His wife Lee is more the natural politician, laughing deeply at a joke, putting her hand on someone's elbow. The two have had marital difficulties and have separated on two occasions. At large gatherings, Hart seems almost to ignore her. But during more intimate occasions such as this, he will often whisper something in her ear, sometimes slip an arm around her waist.

Standing in front of the Yochum's fireplace, a cup of coffee balanced in his right hand, Hart looks reed-thin, slightly vulnerable. He talks quietly about trade policy, military reform, education, reducing unemployment. No slogans, no catchy phrases. He takes a curious pride in his ability to sidestep applause lines, as if trying to evoke an emotional response would somehow demean the seriousness of his message. "You'll be hearing from a lot of different people," he tells the group. "Some of them are very good at giving very moving speeches. I wish I was." Not really. Emotional oratory and soaring symbols are for men like Mario Cuomo and Joe Biden.

Hart has what he calls an "Oriental philosophy" about politics. "Our strength is our weakness," he says. "What is appealing to people about a person in politics is often the thing that is their

weakness as well." Strength and weakness. He is low-keyed and under control; he seems to lack emotion and compassion. He has experience in running for President; he is no longer a fresh face.

What some see as weakness, Hart typically regards as strength. "It takes people twice to run for President," he says while sitting high above the clouds in a plane flying to Florida, where he is scheduled to lecture. "You really need that period of exposure so people begin to form not just a series of snapshots but a mosaic. That's when they begin to feel comfortable with you."

Yet there are many voters who still feel uncomfortable with Hart, because they sense he feels uncomfortable with himself. His cerebral style, his insistence on engaging people intellectually rather than emotionally, make him seem elusive and distant. Such observations frustrate him; he is irked by those who think there is an unknown man behind a familiar mask. "What I mean," he explains, "is that I'm not a good, traditional politician in baring a real or imagined soul, or talking about my mother, or saying, 'Yesterday my daughter said to me such and such.'"

Hart is confident that he can reach voters' hearts through their heads. But Hart, the rational man of ideas, can sound almost mystical in trying to explain his place on the political horizon. "There's a certain politics of antipolitics. I don't think I'm here by accident," he says, looking out the window as the plane begins its descent. "I think there is a desire in this country for people who are not traditional politicians. I can't be a traditional politician. You just don't tamper with who you are."

—By Richard Stengel

## The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

### Tips from a Tonsorial Tout

**B**efore presidential politics gets too grim, let's have the Milt Pitts tonsorial tour:

Gary Hart beginning to fade unless the tops of his ears appear from under his 1960s mod hairdo. Chuck Robb, Richard Gephardt and Bill Bradley neatly trimmed for maximum political appeal, rising steadily. Sam Nunn consigned to the campaign basement unless the sides and back of his shag are thinned. George Bush ("really great") and Bob Dole ("styled very well") streamlined and sailing smartly into the political winds. Pete du Pont, Al Haig and Don Rumsfeld rightly barbered to take the course should the others falter. Jack Kemp, splendidly styled for football, left in the locker room instead of the White House if he does not have some serious cutting done.

We could all chuckle with Milt if his predictions in the past were not so eerily accurate and his imagery were not so much a part of today's politics. He has been barbering Presidents and Washington power brokers for more than 20 years, and is serious when he says that in this electronic environment, a person's hair becomes an instant signal of his purpose and personality. He wrote Ted Kennedy out of contention long before anyone else after seeing a shot of the Senator's wild locks. "He'll never make it with a haircut like that," said Milt.

J.F.K. signaled his intention in 1960 when he had his hair cut back. Thereafter he drove the Senate barbers wild with his persnickety instructions for a presidential trim. He ordered Frances Fox's special amber hair tonic rubbed into his dome daily on the campaign trail. He refused to wear a hat lest the felt crush his coif.

Republicans have to be trimmer than Democrats, insists Milt, but Democrats have to be careful that they are up to the minute with their more casual style. Thus when he saw the picture of Hart in New Hampshire sporting a hairstyle that

seemed 20 years old, his fingers itched to attack the mop.

"How come you don't see any bald men among the top candidates?" asks the hair stylist. Good point. Baldie Ike made his mark in the military and then defeated Baldie Taft and Stevenson on his way to the White House. End of the baldie run. The barber almost saved Gerald Ford in the campaign of 1976. He had Ford dump the Vitals, and then he trimmed the President closer on the sides and in the back, poufing up the thinning top. But by that time Ford had pardoned Nixon, and not even Pitts' magic could save him.

As for Carter, Milt knew the morning the photo came out showing he had switched his part from right to left and restyled his country thatch that Carter was a one-term. "You never change your style so dramatically overnight while you are on the job," declares Milt. "It unsettles people. It indicates a vacillating nature." Pitts' rule of political hairstyling: get it right the minute you become serious about running and stick with the basic style all the way.

Mario Cuomo hovers on the edge of acceptability. The Governor needs a little feathering on the sides and in the rear so he does not look quite so much like a provincial New Yorker. After all, he is running to be President of all the people, not just Queens. Howard Baker has a fine haircut for a Vice President, Milt insists, which is Milt's way of suggesting he come around for a trim.

The hair stylist does not win them all. One of his best customers over these years has been Pat Buchanan, the White House's remorseless partisan. When Milt felt that the presidential fever was building in Buchanan, he gave him his best dark-horse trim, which is a cut that is short all over, even on the sides and top, and starkly etched at the edges. But such artistry was not enough. Buchanan withdrew from the fray and has even decided to quit his White House post. Milt shrugs. "He's still got a cutting edge."



Prognosticator Pitts at his post



**You can tell a lot about a man by his brand.**

**SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING:** Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.

16 mg. "tar," 1.0 mg. nicotine  
av. per cigarette, FTC Report Feb. '85





## Nation



Workers prepare P Tunnel for a nuclear explosion several months from now

## Testers and Protesters

*In Nevada, nuclear explosions are both a livelihood and a threat*

As a senior drilling inspector at the Department of Energy's Nevada Test Site, Rufus Moore usually pays scant attention to the antinuclear protesters who often appear at the perimeter of the top-secret patch of desert 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas. The 1,350-sq.-mi. site in the Nellis Range has absorbed hundreds of underground blasts as the U.S. has fine-tuned its nuclear arsenal. For Moore, 54, a cigar-chomping veteran of hundreds of such tests, nuclear deterrence and super-power peace depend on the results. "The minute we stop testing, we're in trouble," he says. "I'm not just saying this because it's my livelihood. Something is being learned every time there's a test."

Last Thursday, however, Moore had to thread his car through the largest demonstration ever held at the test site. Nearly 2,000 people rode buses and cars into the desert to protest the first U.S. nuclear explosion of the year and the 25th since the Soviet Union unilaterally declared a moratorium on nuclear testing in August 1985. Nye County authorities arrested 438 people, including Astronomer Carl Sagan, Antiwar Activist Daniel Ellsberg, Actor Martin Sheen and Singer Kris Kristofferson, for trespassing on Department of Energy property. Said Sagan of the testing program: "We've built a kind of doomsday machine, which threatens certain global civilizations and possibly even the human species."

The demonstration came too late. To foil the activists, the nuclear test, code-named Hazebrook, was set off Tuesday, two days ahead of schedule. The subsequent protest was not confined to Nevada. On

Capitol Hill, the House Democratic caucus proposed that Congress cut off funds for further U.S. nuclear tests as long as the Soviet Union adheres to its testing moratorium. The House Democrats called on President Reagan to negotiate with the Soviets to achieve a "reciprocal, simultaneous and verifiable" test ban. The Soviets, meanwhile, announced they would soon resume testing in response to the U.S. action.

The Administration claims that continued testing enhances deterrence by ensuring the safety and reliability of the nearly 13,000 warheads in the U.S. nuclear stockpile. Opponents contend that the tests fuel the arms race by leading to new weapons, particularly for the space-based Strategic Defense Initiative.

The controversy over SDI intensified last week. At a White House meeting, President Reagan and his top advisers came close to adopting a Pentagon-sponsored position on SDI testing that the Soviets as well as many congressional and al-

lied leaders insist would be a violation of the 1972 treaty limiting antiballistic missiles (ABMS). The combination of resumed testing and what would amount to a scrapping of the ABM treaty could touch off more protests against Administration policy, both at home and abroad.

Moore, who has worked at the Nevada Test Site since 1961, views the protesters as "sincere in their feeling, but they don't understand the big picture." When he drives from his home in nearby Pah-rump to the heavily guarded site, Moore enters a domain pockmarked with gaping craters, a lunar-like legacy of blasts thousands of feet underground. Many of Moore's 5,500 colleagues labor in cavernous horizontal tunnels that are bored into the granite mesas. To the worker, the test site represents not a nuclear underworld but a well-paid job. "You get used to it, feels like home," says Don Maxwell, 44, an underground surveyor. "Nice and warm in the winter, cool in the summer."

Maxwell spends eight hours a day in P Tunnel, a shaft resembling a semifiederated subway excavation 1,300 feet below Rainer Mesa. A narrow-gauge electric locomotive takes workers into the tunnel, which ends in a rocky cul-de-sac 1½ miles away. Bare light bulbs dangle overhead, and the brilliant flare of a welder's torch flickers on the rock walls. Labyrinthine cables coil along the floor, and the tunnel reverberates with a sometimes deafening din, punctuated by shouts and horn blasts. In an eerily normal scene near ground zero, a surveyor chats on a Touch-Tone wall phone. The atmosphere is that of an underground lab rather than a staging ground for Armageddon.

A future test in P Tunnel will send a blast of radiation through a vacuum-tight steel casing to simulate a nuclear explosion 300 miles deep in space. Parts of the tunnel will collapse, and tons of irradiated rock will hurtle through the pipe, but the explosion should remain contained, thanks to seven giant doors. The last barrier, a mile distant, is a gas-sealed door made to withstand temperatures of 500° F and pressures of 500 lbs. per sq. in.

For decades Pah-rump (pop. 6,000) has relied on the test site to provide steady work. Salaries average \$41,000, enough to

pay for new homes, sports cars and vacation trips. To residents, the nuclear age has brought the good life; antinuke talk of "economic reconversion" is considered a euphemism for unemployment in Nye County. In the Nevada desert, the protesters are a source of resentment and frustration to the workers. Yet testers and protesters alike profess the same goal: safety in a nuclear age. Says Moore: "Anyone seeing the shots as I have, and the awesome power they have, must realize a person would have to be crazy to ever pull that trigger." Both sides must hope he is right.

—By Michael Riley/

Mercury, Nevada



Among demonstrators: Sheen and Kristofferson

Blasts are contained; dissent billows topside.

# CALAIS

Who says black tie  
can't be  
candy-apple red?

Who says dressy can't be  
sporty? Who says sophistica-  
tion can't go hand in hand  
with acceleration? Who says?  
Obviously, not the new 1987  
Olds Calais. Come to think of  
it, it's probably the same  
people who said man would  
never fly.



**Oldsmobile**  
Oldsmobile Quality. Feel it.



Let's get it together...buckle up.



## Why should men and women pay different rates for their life and health insurance?

These days, most married couples know that adequate life and health insurance for both parties is the foundation for sound financial planning.

What they might not know is why men and women often pay different rates for equivalent coverage.

That happens because insurance premiums are based on risk. The lower the risk, the lower the premium.

Since, on average, women live seven years longer than men, they're better risks and pay lower rates for individual life insurance. Conversely, women under 55 normally incur more health-care expenses than men of the same age...so they pay more for individual health insurance than men. After age 55, women generally have lower claims costs, so they normally pay less for individual health insurance than men of the same age.

That's why insurers have to group people with similar risks when they calculate premiums. If they didn't, people with low risks would end up subsidizing those with high risks. And that wouldn't be fair.

**The lower your risk  
the lower your premium.**

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LIFE AND HEALTH  
INSURANCE COMPANIES**





## American Notes



Sherwood and another son at Dennis' grave



Gunplay by national guardsmen inspires a patriotic cheer from the students at Fulton High



### MINNESOTA

## A Mother's Search

Jerry Sherwood was a 17-year-old runaway living in a reform school in 1961 when she gave birth out of wedlock to a son she named Dennis. As a ward of the state, Sherwood was forced to give up her child for adoption. Nineteen years later, she set out to find him. The search led her to Ramsey County, where the welfare department informed her that Dennis had died in 1965 of peritonitis. But adoptions are confidential in Minnesota, and other agencies refused to give out further information.

Sherwood, now 42, gave up her search until last September, when, she says, a "friend convinced me I didn't have to be afraid of the system, that I had a moral right to know." Poring over old newspapers with one of her other four children, she found articles that made her suspicious about her son's death. She took her case to police in the town of White Bear Lake, a suburb of St. Paul. After a medical examiner and other experts scrutinized Dennis' autopsy report, they determined that the boy had been beaten to death. Late last month Dennis' adoptive mother, Lois Jurgens, 61, was indicted for killing the child.

"Why authorities did not investigate Dennis' death more thoroughly in 1965 remains a mystery, particularly since

welfare workers subsequently had other children removed from the Jurgens household. Sherwood's explanation: "He was just an adopted illegitimate child, and it didn't matter. Nobody cared." Except a mother who kept his memory alive for 25 years.

### DIPLOMACY

## More Gems From Perle

An outspoken hard-liner on arms control, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle has long been scornful of those who would seek accommodation with the Soviet Union at any cost. Last week Perle aimed his criticism at the foreign and defense ministers of the NATO alliance. Speaking at a defense symposium in Munich, Perle complained that the ministers usually meet to produce bland communiqués that "paper over differences, avoid controversy [and] placate public opinion . . . rather than declaring our most fundamental convictions."

Perle then said that Soviet proposals to eliminate all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 were "dangerous nonsense." Verifying a no-nukes agreement, he insisted, "is not difficult, or very difficult; it is impossible." What Western leader, Perle asked, "would turn in his country's last remaining nuclear weapon on

the strength of assurances—mere words—that the Soviets had done the same?" Asked about this blunt talk, White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater took a diplomatic out. Perle, he said, "was not speaking for the President."

### HEALTH

## Born in The U.S.A.

One of the worst places for a child to be born in the industrialized world is the U.S. A report released last week by the Children's Defense Fund found that the U.S., with 10.8 infant deaths for every 1,000 live births in 1984, is tied with Belgium and East and West Germany for the highest infant mortality rate among the 20 leading industrialized nations. The C.D.F. also found that the death rate for black children is nearly twice as high as the rate for whites and that between 1983 and 1984, infant mortality rates increased in six of the country's largest cities, including Washington. "A black infant born within five miles of the White House," said the report, "is more likely to die in the first year of life than an infant born in Third World countries like Trinidad."

C.D.F. President Marian Wright Edelman cited inadequate access to medical care for the poor as the main cause of the high mortality rate. She

called for funding increases in maternal and child health and nutrition programs.

### TENNESSEE

## Rambo Comes To High School

"Expect the unexpected," Principal Winston Davis warned the 700 students in Knoxville's Fulton High School auditorium last week. As the assembly settled into an eye-glazing film on the high school's construction, six warriors in camouflage gear suddenly mounted a platform near the stage and began firing their M-16s. The youngsters screamed and scrambled for cover. But the gunplay ended almost immediately, and Sergeant Major Bob Gregory of the Tennessee Army National Guard informed the students that the soldiers were shooting blanks. "This was just a scenario," said he. "It's not for real."

The little demonstration, which the Guard had staged in at least 15 schools since November, was intended to make the pupils realize what could happen if they did not live in a free country. After a brief speech by Gregory, the kids were asked to raise their fists and shout "Hurrah!" if they loved America. Many did so with fervor. But parents criticized the use of weapons to promote patriotism, and the Guard retreated. Further mock raids have been canceled.

## World

MIDDLE EAST

# Gunboat Diplomacy

*The U.S. makes a show of force as the hostage war goes on and on*



Display of military muscle in a troubled region: the aircraft carrier U.S.S. John F. Kennedy sails toward the eastern Mediterranean

DEAN WOLFF

In the hazy seas off the Lebanese coast, the huge fleet steamed slowly eastward. Composed of 20 fighting ships, the armada was led by two of the world's largest aircraft carriers, the nuclear-powered U.S.S. *Nimitz* and the *John F. Kennedy*. The presence of so large a force in the volatile eastern Mediterranean last week inevitably raised the question: Was the U.S. preparing to launch a military assault to free all or most of the 24 foreigners, including eight Americans, held hostage by Shi'ite radicals in Lebanon?

Though the U.S. had clearly ordered the Sixth Fleet to make a show of force, Washington denied that a rescue operation was being considered. In fact, asserted American officials, not altogether convincingly, the primary reason for the unusually large concentration of naval power off Lebanon was the unpredictable course of the Iran-Iraq war, some 700 miles to the east. In that war, Iran is waging a continuing campaign against the southern Iraqi city of Basra and thereby posing an implicit threat to Iraq's gulf allies, most notably Kuwait. "We talk about our strategic interests in the context of the Iran-Iraq war," a senior Administration official insisted.

Late last week, after apparently concluding that its powerful gesture had had some effect on the chaotic situation in both Lebanon and the gulf, the Pentagon ordered the armada to begin to disperse. The *Kennedy*, docked in Haifa, 75 miles south of Beirut, and other ships began moving away.

Another factor in the rise of tension in Lebanon last week was Washington's invitation to six allies to attend a conference in Rome on the hostage crisis. Other gov-

ernments vetoed the idea of the meeting, fearing that any joint action might jeopardize the lives of the kidnap victims. Moreover, Iran's credibility in terrorist diplomacy, and allies are more reluctant than usual to follow Washington's lead.

The U.S. exercise in gunboat diplomacy in the Mediterranean, awesome though it may have been, did not help the plight of the hostages in Lebanon. In an atmosphere of rising tension, the Iran-backed Islamic Jihad organization, whose hostages are believed to include Terry Anderson, the chief Middle East correspondent for the Associated Press, and Thomas Sutherland, a dean at the American University of Beirut, defiantly warned that its captives would be killed if the U.S. attacked. Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, the spiritual

leader of Hizbollah, the pro-Iranian Party of God movement, personally challenged the Sixth Fleet. "What can they do, destroy Beirut?" he demanded. "They cannot do that. The Americans are welcome... If I am on their hit list, then that is an honor."

Meanwhile, the drama of the dangerous mission of Terry Waite, the special envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, continued to unfold. On Jan. 20, Waite dismissed his Druze militia bodyguards and disappeared into West Beirut, apparently to meet with people holding some of the hostages. By last week there was little doubt that he had ceased to be a free agent. Nabih Berri, leader of the relatively moderate Shi'ite Amal militia, said he had learned that Waite had been arrested but not kidnapped, a distinction that offered little solace. Walid Jumblatt, head of Lebanon's Druze community, felt so chagrined by the disappearance of Waite, whom his militiamen had tried to protect, he offered himself as a hostage in exchange. Asked by a Washington *Post* correspondent whether he regretted accepting the task of safeguarding Waite, Jumblatt replied, "It is not a question of regretting. We are living in a city of wolves."

The Waite saga took a more ominous turn, when the West German daily *Bild Zeitung* reported that according to "Beirut security circles," the British negotiator had been shot and critically wounded while trying to escape. Later the same day, however, two Beirut taxi drivers, both of whom knew Waite by sight, said they were certain they had seen him, surrounded by a band of armed men, walking on a street in a southern Beirut suburb and waving to passersby. Still later ash-



Correspondent Seib in Zurich after his release

"I am a journalist, and that's all."

*Shiraa*, the Lebanese newspaper that first broke the story of the secret talks between Iran and the U.S., reported that Waite was likely to be released sometime this week. Lebanese Leader Nabih Berri made a similar predication. But for the moment, the Anglican envoy's whereabouts were unknown.

As fears mounted over the negotiator's continued absence, British diplomats disclosed that they had warned Waite not to conduct another mission to Lebanon right now. According to one Druze official in West Beirut, Waite had incurred the displeasure of some Islamic Jihad extremists by not fulfilling a promise that he had allegedly made last November in connection with the freeing of Hostage David Jacobsen, a former hospital administrator at the American University of Beirut. They claimed that he had pledged to arrange the release of 17 members of a largely Shi'ite movement who are imprisoned in Kuwait but failed to do so.

If the threat to Waite remained shadowy last week, there was nothing ambiguous about the plight of four Beirut University College teachers, three of them Americans and one an Indian, who were abducted in January by gunmen posing as policemen. A Shi'ite splinter group calling itself Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine warned Israel that if it did not release 400 jailed guerrillas within a week, the four teachers would be "executed" and "their corpses thrown in the garbage cans of Cyprus."

Though the group said the guerrillas were being held by the Israelis in "Zionist Nazi jails in Palestine," it was apparently referring to those who are currently held by the Israeli-allied South Lebanon Army, a predominantly Christian militia, in a prison camp to the north of the border between Lebanon and Israel. Among the inmates are hundreds of Amal and Hizballah guerrillas who were captured in



Syrian soldiers attempt to restore order in West Beirut

clashes with either the militia or the Israeli army. Israeli officials disclose privately that they have protested the poor treatment of prisoners at the camp to General Antoine Lahd, the militia's commander. Lahd replied that he was not running a hotel. In June 1985, the hijackers of a TWA jet demanded and eventually secured the release of several hundred Lebanese Shi'ites from Israel's Atlit prison in exchange for 39 passengers held hostage. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said last week that a swap this time was "out of the question."

Along with the fate of Terry Waite and the plight of the hostages in Lebanon, the U.S. was concerned last week about the detention of *Wall Street Journal* Correspondent Gerald Seib in Tehran. Seib was one of more than 100 foreign journalists invited by the Iranian government to visit the

country and, not incidentally, to report on Iran's recent progress in the gulf war. Toward the end of a five-day visit, he was suddenly arrested and accused of being "a spy for the Zionist regime." For several days it appeared that he would be brought to trial on espionage charges. But late in the week he was turned over to the Swiss embassy, which represents American interests in Iran, and put aboard a Swiss jetliner bound for Zurich. On arrival, Seib read a statement in which he thanked the Swiss for helping to secure his release. In response to the spying charges, he declared, "I am a journalist, and that is all that I am. I was simply doing my job."

Like almost everything else in Iran today, the reasons behind Seib's arrest remain a puzzle. The incident could have resulted from the continuing power struggle between the ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, the designated successor to the aging, ailing Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament. The journalists had been invited by Rafsanjani supporters, and Montazeri's men may have been trying to embarrass them by arresting the reporter.

Seib's troubles could also have been part of the wave of tension in Tehran that followed the collapse of last year's secret negotiations with the U.S. Some experts speculate that the political balance in Iran is so fragile that each faction fears the other might strike some sort of deal with the U.S. and thereby win an advantage in the ongoing power struggle. The easiest way to handle the problem, it is felt, is to make sure that nobody else makes any deal and that the prevailing chaos continues. Like the hostages in Lebanon, Seib was simply a pawn in a complex power game that is far from being resolved.

—By William E. Smith, Reported by Dean Fischer/Cairo and Roland Flamini/Nicosia



## Travelers to a Changing Land

*Kissinger and friends pay a call on Gorbachev's Moscow*

Events in Moscow last week seemed like scenes from a world turned upside down. Dissident Physicist Andrei Sakharov, who recently returned from seven years of internal exile, was invited to a nuclear disarmament conference at the Kremlin. Meanwhile, Soviet police arrested Yuri Churbanov, the son-in-law of former Leader Leonid Brezhnev, and jailed him on bribery and corruption charges. In addition, officials freed more than 40 political prisoners, the largest dissident group to be released in three decades, and announced that some 500 people, most of them Jews, have been granted exit visas. Only 900 people were allowed to emigrate during all of 1986.

Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union has become a bewildering place for Westerners accustomed to a country where rigidity has been as eternal as February snows in Siberia. A group of eminent Americans arrived in Moscow last week for a firsthand look at the new and changing world of Soviet Communism that Gorbachev is trying to build. The Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Soviet Academy of

Sciences had invited the eleven-member delegation from the Council on Foreign Relations, an elite, Manhattan-based organization devoted to world affairs (see following story). As hosts, the Soviets agreed to assume the trip's costs. After being whisked about in Chaika limousines to meetings with Gorbachev and other leaders, the group was cautious but impressed. "The Soviets are much, much more open than when I negotiated with them in the past," said Henry Kissinger, who served as Secretary of State for Presidents Nixon and Ford. Concurred Harold Brown, Jimmy Carter's Defense chief: "It's really quite a remarkable change."

The highlight of the five-day visit was a three-hour session with Gorbachev that one American termed "a lively give-and-take." The Communist Party General Secretary took a hard line on U.S.-Soviet relations. Calling the current bitter feelings between Washington and Moscow "unworthy of great nations," he blamed the impasse on groups in the U.S. "to which hostility is profitable." Gorbachev spoke broadly of "forces that need the



Close encounters of a diplomatic kind: the party boss

U.S.S.R. as an 'enemy image' and use the high-powered information media to sow hatred toward the Soviet people." The Soviet leader still had hopes of holding arms-control talks with the U.S. But he harbored serious doubts about the political strength of President Reagan, who probably will have to contend with Iran-scam for the next two years.

Despite a general mood of friendliness during the visit, there were tense mo-

## "Something Is Happening Here"

*Michael Mandelbaum, director of the Project on East-West Relations at the Council on Foreign Relations, was a member of the delegation that visited Moscow. He is also coauthor, with TIME's Strobe Talbot, of the new book Reagan and Gorbachev. Mandelbaum wrote this report on the trip for TIME:*

"You've come at an exciting time," one of the Soviet officials said as he greeted us. Indeed we had. Something is happening here.

The week before our arrival Mikhail Gorbachev had made a major speech at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He blasted the outmoded practices of the past, stressed his determination to proceed with the changes already in motion and proposed some startling innovations in the Soviet political system, including competitive elections for important posts.

The impact of Gorbachev's policies was apparent everywhere we went: in the stately meeting hall of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; in the ornate guesthouse of the Foreign Ministry; in the homey, book-lined apartment of Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner; and in the conference room of the headquarters of the Central Committee where, with pictures of Marx and Lenin peering down at us, we had a three-hour meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Russian term for the new program is "perestroika," restructuring. It includes another frequently used term, "democratization"—the greater involvement of the Soviet people in the management of their society. An important part of this is a "new way of thinking," which offers far greater room than ever before for fresh ideas, the discussion of previously taboo subjects and official candor. At every meeting we encountered examples of this new thinking.

We were given a straightforward appraisal of the problems of the Soviet economy that could have come from an American

economist. Western observers often tell stories of bizarre inefficiencies, like the setting of the price of children's clothing so low that taxi drivers buy it to clean their windshields. But this story came from a high party official.

We had candid discussions of the two sides' positions in the arms-control talks, in which Soviet officials explored positions beyond those their government has officially taken and about which they disagreed with one another.

We heard references to a broad range of new economic initiatives, including previously forbidden ideas such as competition, market pricing and profit. An important figure in the Soviet establishment characterized the old system of censorship as irrational and outmoded. Perhaps the most vivid example of change was the chance we had to talk with Andrei Sakharov, a meeting that, as he noted, only two months before could not have taken place. He and his wife were gracious hosts—he braving the cold and the gaggle of waiting reporters and photographers to greet us outside their apartment building, she serving us tea and homemade cake during our two-hour visit.

A tired-looking man with a gentle, precise manner, Sakharov emphasized the significance of the campaign of democratization and the need for it to continue. The political situation in the Soviet Union is complicated, he noted, and there is certainly opposition to the reforms. But he told us that he considered Gorbachev an able politician whose chances of success in overcoming the opposition he considered good.

In the three hours we spent with Gorbachev he was alternately soft-spoken and forceful, detached and caustic, critical and cordial. Most impressive was the way he conducted the meeting. Unlike the other Soviet officials with whom we met, he did not make a prepared opening statement. Instead, he began by asking questions. He was well briefed about our group and asked different members why they had taken a particular position, made a certain speech or supported a se-





meets the former Secretary of State

ments. At one point some members on tight schedules, including Kissinger, were so disturbed by Soviet slowness in arranging promised meetings with Gorbachev and other leaders that they threatened to return home. That spurred a flurry of activity, and soon the program was full. The group eventually also saw Sakharov, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Anatoli Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission.

The visiting Americans and their hosts engaged in good-natured sparring throughout the week. Spotting Jeane Kirkpatrick, who was Reagan's outspoken United Nations Ambassador until 1985, a top Soviet propaganda official boomed: "You have said very many critical things about us. Let us discuss them." Gorbachev was courtly with General David Jones, a retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declaring that "I very often quote from your remarks." The Soviet leader had a barbed compliment for Kissinger, the architect of the Nixon Administration's policy of U.S.-Soviet détente. Said he: "You are the author of many interesting things that are still operative. But some people, with your participation, are now trying to dismantle them."

The developments in the Soviet Union last week were typical of the now-see-it, now-you-don't liberalization taking place under Gorbachev. The invitation to Sakharov to attend a Kremlin disarmament forum this week could provide Gorbachev with a prestigious ally in his antinuclear campaign. Thus, it will be a good platform to show off the new Soviet openness in a way that also serves Moscow's interests.

Simultaneously, the Kremlin was also putting forth an unusually hard propaganda line against the U.S. This included

publication of a book charging that the 1978 Jonestown massacre, in which more than 900 religious cultists took their lives by drinking cyanide-spiked Kool-Aid, was the work of the CIA. TASS also resurrected totally fantastic and absurd allegations that the AIDS virus was created by U.S. scientists in a Maryland germ-warfare laboratory.

Still, the Kremlin had plenty of incentive left for its enemies at home. In arresting Churbanov, 50, Brezhnev's son-in-law and First Deputy Minister of the Interior from 1980 to 1984, Moscow continued its crackdown on official misdeeds. Gorbachev has repeatedly attacked lax ethical standards under Brezhnev, who died in 1982, and has given top priority to rooting out corruption. If convicted, Churbanov could face 15 years in prison or even death for accepting bribes.

While no one knows how far Gorbachev's reforms will eventually go, any Communist society places inevitable limits on democratic change. Members of the visiting U.S. delegation were naturally wary. Kirkpatrick saw "small movement but large hope in the Soviet Union." She added, "There's clearly a will to new approaches, although the specifics are still less clear. But this new thinking should be taken seriously."

—By John Greenwald.  
Reported by James O. Jackson/Moscow

ries of American policies. He seemed interested in learning.

He expressed his determination to proceed along the path he has charted within the Soviet Union. He also made clear his interest in improving relations with the U.S. and in reaching an arms-control agreement despite the disarray in Washington, although he also stressed, as did other officials, that it was now up to the American side to respond to Soviet proposals.

His performance was impressive and his message on Soviet-American relations on the whole upbeat. But the session was not entirely devoted to expressions of warm good wishes. Gorbachev spoke with some feeling, verging on bitterness, of what he called the unreliability of the U.S. as an economic and political partner. He was referring to the interruption of a number of bilateral programs—in response, of course, to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. And a few of his remarks suggested, at least to me, that he has a seriously flawed picture of how American society and the American political system work.

The changes in Soviet life have not touched everybody. The reins by which the leadership controls the society have loosened, but the gates to the world outside remain closed. We met with a group of refuseniks, whose requests to emigrate have still not been granted. Naum Meiman's wife was allowed to go to Washington last month for urgent medical treatment; he has not been able to join her. Benjamin Charny has been trying to leave for eight years. His name was one of five on a special list of cancer victims requesting emigration. There were reports that a large number of long-standing cases like these would be resolved in the next few months. That is perhaps the next major test of the seriousness of the program of democratization.

Still, the changes are unmistakable, and they raise a series of questions for American foreign policy. The most immediate is whether to conclude an arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union that would incorporate some of the measures tentatively agreed to at the Reykjavik summit meeting last October, which would require some compromise on strategic defenses. On this subject Sakharov shares the skepticism of many of his scientific colleagues in the West that an effective space shield to protect populations against nuclear attack can ever be built. Moreover, he fears that efforts to do so will lead to dangerous instability in the nuclear relationship between the two great powers.

The Gorbachev program raises other, broader questions as well: Is it feasible to negotiate successfully to reduce not only nuclear armaments but also the much more costly conventional weapons that both sides deploy in Europe? Has the moment come to try to forge a much more extensive economic relationship with the Soviet Union, an effort that failed in the early 1970s? Is it even possible that the changes Gorbachev has set in motion present an opportunity, which the West has not had since 1945, for a fundamentally different relationship with the Soviet Union?

Something is happening here. To a visitor who was last in Moscow two years ago, just before Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, the city looks the same but sounds very different. For the West, as well as for the people who live in the Soviet Union, a great deal depends upon whether the noise in the background is the blare of another party propaganda campaign exhorting the people to work harder for the glory of the socialist motherland or whether it is something much rarer and more consequential: the deep seismic rumble of a great state changing course.



Mandelbaum at Khrushchev's grave





Winning big by gambling big: by turning the plebiscite into a referendum on her government, the President triumphed

THE PHILIPPINES

## The Sweet, Sweet Taste of Victory

*Voters resoundingly endorse Aquino and her new constitution*

**T**he lines began forming shortly before 7 a.m. and grew steadily longer as the sun rose higher. The wait was an inconvenience for many who were taking time off from work or household duties to vote. Still, the turnout at some polling stations was so heavy that officials ran out of ballots before closing time. For many Filipinos there was something special about casting a ballot for their nation's proposed new constitution, a sense of return to the spirit of People Power nearly a year before. Michael O. Bautista, a retired carpenter, queued up at a schoolhouse in the city of Olongapo with a tape recorder full of Tagalog love songs. "This," he said, "is a day for happiness."

By the time it had ended, the largest electoral turnout in Philippine history had resoundingly endorsed the new constitution by a vote of more than 3 to 1. When the plebiscite results were proclaimed Saturday, they showed the document had been approved by some 16.6 million votes, with about 5.2 million opposed, for a winning margin of 76%. The outcome was a personal triumph for President Corason Aquino, who had turned the plebiscite into a nationwide referendum on her government. "We have surprised the world again," said the President. "The tremendous vote of confidence of Feb. 2 reaffirms the now unquestionable legitimacy and democratic power of our government."

Under the charter, which goes into effect immediately after the results are certified by the national Commission on Elections, Aquino will continue serving as President until mid-1992. Because the country has been without a legislature since Aquino dissolved the National Assembly in March, elections for a new 24-member Senate and a 250-member House of Representatives have been scheduled for May. The document also contains sweeping guarantees of human rights, although it has been criticized by some legal observers for adhering too closely to Ro-

man Catholic Church dogma. For example, the charter bans abortions outright.

Aquino's overwhelming victory was all the more remarkable because it followed several weeks of political unrest. On Jan. 22 a violent clash between soldiers and pro-land-reform demonstrators left at least a dozen dead. A week later, a tense three-day coup attempt ended when rebel soldiers surrendered. The President's margin of victory forced even her most bitter opponents to concede that it represented the popular will. "We accept the verdict of the Filipino people," said former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who led the rightist opposition under the banner of the Nationalista Party. He added, "We did our share in making democracy work by taking the other side of the issue." Declared Jose Castro, a leader of the leftist Bayan Party: "We will abide with the masses' decision."

Only former President Ferdinand Marcos, who was prevented by the U.S. two weeks ago from returning to the Philippines from Hawaii during the aborted coup, refused to concede the plebiscite's finality. Aquino won the election, he charged, through "massive vote buying, cheating and tampering of returns."

In fact, by past Filipino standards, the vote was remarkably free of bloodshed or fraud. The independent election-watchdog organization NAMFREL counted only 40 voting irregularities in more than 86,000 polling stations scattered throughout the country. Even more striking, despite the recent breakdown in negotiations between the Communist rebels and the government, the cease-fire that went into effect between the two sides last Dec. 10 held through the election.

One ominous note marred the outcome of the plebiscite for Aquino. Voters among the 250,000-member armed forces, who cast their ballots on military bases, approved the constitution by about only 60%, a far slimmer margin than was

voted by the population at large. More than 50% of air force voters turned thumbs down on the document. Aquino, for her part, sought to downplay the military's lack of enthusiasm, contending that a 60% show of support still amounted to a landslide. Perhaps. But disaffected military officers have been implicated in both of the coup attempts staged against Aquino in July and November. The vote clearly indicated that a sizable block within the armed forces continues to oppose her. Admitted Deputy Defense Minister Wilson Gamboa: "This reveals that the military continues to be disappointed with the government."

**W**hile passage of the constitution certainly enhanced Aquino's prestige, it also placed some new constraints on her. So far, she has been reluctant to undertake any major initiatives on land reform or to boost the economy without the support of a constitution. But along with that legitimacy will come a new legislature, which could slow down or even frustrate her plans. Notes Alex Magno, a political analyst who teaches at the University of the Philippines: "By the time the Aquino presidency has developed the confidence to introduce innovative policies, it has lost the extraordinary powers necessary to give those policies a crucial kickoff."

By winning the plebiscite, Aquino will also lose a part of her political family. At least three of her 26-member Cabinet, including Presidential Adviser Aquilino Pimentel, are expected to resign in time to meet the March 15 filing deadline as candidates for Congress. In the meantime, Filipinos will be preparing for the Feb. 25 anniversary of the revolution that brought Aquino to power. Last week, as a gesture of reconciliation, the President telephoned Enrile and asked him to serve on the planning committee for the event. But their political falling-out in recent months has clearly taken its toll. Replying that he was "grateful and honored" to receive Aquino's invitation, the opposition leader and former Defense Minister nonetheless declined it. — *By William R. Doerner. Reported by Dean Brelis and Nelly Sindayen/Manila*

## World

COLOMBIA

# The Fall of a Cocaine Kingpin

*A brutal drug lord is captured and extradited to Florida*

The tip was vague: check out a mansion 20 miles outside Medellín, the hub of the country's cocaine industry. At daybreak a 20-man elite police unit moved in. When the gunfight ended almost half an hour later, all 15 people inside the house were under arrest. But it was only when police demanded the papers of the captives that they realized they had cornered one of Colombia's most powerful and dangerous cocaine drug lords. Exclaimed Police Major William Lesmes: "We've caught him! This is Carlos Lehder Rivas." Dressed in a T shirt and blue jeans, Lehder muttered, "This is the one place I never expected you'd catch me."

The arrest of the drug boss and his 14 bodyguards was no small coup. The baby-faced Lehder, 37, is a leader of the Medellín cartel, a powerful crime cabal that is said to supply 80% of the world's cocaine. The group rakes in billions of dollars annually, allegedly smuggling up to 15 tons of cocaine monthly into the U.S. and Europe. Aware that underlings might try to rescue their billionaire boss, U.S. and Colombian officials hastily drew up papers to extradite Lehder to the U.S. Before the sun had set, he was en route to Florida, where he will stand trial on a 1981 indictment on charges of smuggling drugs and running a criminal enterprise, which could put him behind bars for life.

As satisfying as Lehder's capture was for both the Bogotá government and the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, it will not put the Medellín operations out of business. Lehder is only one of the cartel's half a dozen barons, and there is speculation that he may have been set up by one of his brethren who found the arrogant Lehder too power hungry. "We cannot say we have enacted a crippling blow by this arrest," conceded DEA Administrator Jack Lawn. "Its impact lies in the fact that the government of Colombia, in spite of all its losses, has declared its intent."

Bogotá's move against Lehder was taken at great risk. Over the past few years, Colombia's on-again-off-again war on drugs has claimed the lives of dozens of judges, policemen and journalists. The battle had slowed noticeably when Virgilio Barco Vargas was sworn in as President last August. The early months of his administration suggested to some that Barco was more interested in his country's economic troubles and did not assign high priority to the drug war.

But in recent months the

President has come on strong. When the Colombian Supreme Court used a technicality to void a controversial extradition treaty with the U.S. that was aimed at drug traffickers, Barco quickly reactivated the agreement. A few days later, a prominent newspaperman who had been openly critical of drug traffickers was slain in Bogotá. Barco ordered a sweeping offensive against *la mafia*, as the drug barons are known. Police stepped up raids, arrests and drug seizures. Since then, Barco has signed several decrees making it easier for authorities to move against drug traffickers.

On Jan. 13 the drug lords delivered a chilling counterblow. Enrique Parejo González, Colombia's Ambassador to Hungary, had just stepped from his home in Budapest when a man approached and pumped four bullets into his head and



JOHN THIEL/PA

body. It was a miracle that Parejo survived, but it was no surprise that he was targeted. As Minister of Justice from 1984 to 1986, he had led Colombia's war on drugs. During that period, there were constant threats against his life. Parejo mistakenly assumed he was out of harm's way behind the security-tight Iron Curtain. Afterward, Colombia's Attorney General Mauro Hoyos warned, "No one is safe anywhere against the vengeance of *la mafia*."

DEA agents say the cartel's influence is so pervasive that it is destroying civilized society in Colombia. "It's a criminal's paradise," says a DEA official. "Colombia has judges who won't send serious criminals away, jails that won't hold anybody, and the highest murder rate outside of countries in the middle of a civil war." In 1986, 5,600 murders were reported in Colombia. Close to half of those took place in Medellín, where, according to the DEA, the cartel operates a school for assassins in which students learn surveillance, wiretapping and other skills.

Many Colombians have grown numb to the constant violence. "You get used to murder here, and you have to get over it fast," says Housewife Monica de Riveros. Doctors, however, question whether violence can be dealt with so tidily. Psychiatrist Fernando Escobar warns that the climate of brutality has given rise to a climate of lawlessness. Says he: "Violence is seen as a solution to diverse problems."

The Bogotá government's war on drugs will founder unless Barco overcomes what one close aide describes as "weaknesses in certain sectors of the army and a worrisome corruption in the police force." That will not be an easy task. In Medellín, up to 80% of the police force is suspected of working for *la mafia*. At present, close to 500 Colombian police are under investigation for involvement in drug trafficking. Military officials, meanwhile, have resisted joining the antidrug battle because they know that low-paid soldiers and officers can easily be bribed by drug lords not to enforce the law.

Last week's arrest of Lehder will undoubtedly boost the morale of Colombia's drug warriors. Even in the savage drug underworld, the short, cocky Lehder stands out as a particularly unsavory character. Known to favor beautiful women, cocaine and brutality, he also professes an admiration for Adolf Hitler. In *mafia* circles, he is affectionately called *el loco* (the nut). In a war where losses are many and victories are largely symbolic, Lehder's capture was a rich symbol indeed.—By Jill Smolow, Reported by Bernard Diederich/Miami and Elaine Shannon/Washington



SUSANNE WILKINSON

Officers in the narcotics-infested country burn contraband; top, Lehder

*The on-again-off-again battle has taken dozens of lives.*

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## Running Against America

*The white election campaign opens with blasts at Washington*

With the verve and vigor they usually reserve for their favorite rugby matches, South Africa's white politicians last week set off on a three-month-long election campaign. On May 6, almost two years before the next constitutionally mandated election, the country's 3 million white voters will go to the polls to elect a new all-white legislature. Although it will not be a referendum on any specific issue or program, State President P.W. Botha is, in effect, asking for a vote of confidence on his hard-line responses to black activists at home and economic sanctions from abroad.

As Botha and his governing National Party candidates swung into action, it appeared that their real opponent was not South Africa's other political parties but the U.S. Government. In his speech opening the campaign, Botha bemoaned the "prejudice, abuse and dishonesty South Africa had to endure at the hands of cynical and sanctimonious antagonists abroad." Lest there be any doubt about the target, Foreign Minister Roelof ("Pik") Botha, who is no relation to the President, candidly admitted that his party would be tapping the "strong anti-U.S. feeling in this country." It is time, he said, "to show the U.S. Congress they will not coerce us." It is "dangerous," added Botha, to follow the U.S. in decisions on world affairs. "They are hopeless."

State President Botha enters the campaign confident that his strategy will keep in power the National Party, which has ruled the country since 1948. He assumes that South Africa's white voters want a period of calm after so much turbulence. Since Botha declared a national state of emergency last June, incidents of political violence have dwindled to just a handful a day. According to government figures, the number of deaths in racial conflicts dropped from 665 to 251 between the first and the second half of last year. Under the country's harsh press restrictions, no violent incidents can be reported on or photographed by journalists. The decreased coverage adds to the public's sense of returning normalcy. Botha's anti-Americanism theme is likely to win a favorable response. In 1977 his party ran a campaign against Jimmy Carter, who was then pressuring South Africa for changes in apartheid policies, and won a resounding victory.

The National Party completely dominates the outgoing Parliament, holding 127 of the 178 seats. Nothing less than an opposition landslide could turn it

out of power, and that is unlikely. Nonetheless, political analysts are looking to the election for signs that the country's white voters are moving either to the left or right of the Nationalists. The results could thus influence any future liberalization of apartheid laws.



**Botha attending ceremonies for the opening of Parliament**  
*Asking for a vote of confidence on his hard-line policies.*

The most credible rightist threat is the Conservative Party, which currently holds 18 seats in Parliament. It will fight the election on the easy-to-understand platform of a return to full separation of the races, a policy it calls "partition." Says Spokesman Cornelius Mulder: "Subdivide the land; don't share political power." But even Conservative Leader Andries Treurnicht, who accuses the Nationalists of capitulating to black demands and endangering white South Africans, entertains no hope of taking over the government. He and his strategists would like to win enough seats to replace the moderate Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition. His efforts will be strengthened if he is able to form a united front with the ultraright Herstigte National Party, which now has only one

seat in Parliament but hopes for more.

On the liberal side, the strongly anti-apartheid Progressive Federal Party is struggling to retain its position as the opposition party, a role it has held for more than nine years. It has been handicapped, however, by the confidence-dashing resignation a year ago of its dynamic leader, Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, 46. The party's new chief, Colin Eglin, hopes to increase its seats from 27 to about 40. That may be more of a dream than a hope. Forty seats, he speculates, could make the

P.F.P. large enough that some relatively liberal National Party Members of Parliament might join forces with it. "We are moving toward alliance politics rather than traditional politics," says Eglin. "The process of building up an alternative government is going to get started."

Eglin and other political pundits estimate that there are up to 30 so-called New Nats, who might leave the National Party if they could help take over the government. This strategy received some support last month when Wynand Malan, one of the best known of them, announced that he was resigning from the party and would run as an independent candidate. But Eglin's ploy still seems a long shot. No other M.P.s joined Malan in leaving the party, and he said that he would not join the P.F.P. "because there are too many things in the party philosophy with which I do not agree."

Another jolt of political excitement hit the new campaign with the news that Denis Worrall, the country's ambassador in London, was resigning his post and coming home. Insiders say that Worrall, a former National Party M.P., could no longer defend his country's racial policies abroad. He reportedly plans to run for Parliament as an independent.

Lest out of the political hurly-burly altogether, of course, are the great majority of South Africans: the blacks, mixed-race coloreds and Indians, who make up 85% of the country's population of 33 million. Colored and Indian representatives sit in two largely powerless houses of the tricam-

eral Parliament and represent 4 million people, but they do not face elections until 1989. The country's 24 million blacks have even less of a say in running the country, since they enjoy no political rights at all at the national level. Says Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and a leading black spokesman: "The election is, for us, a nonevent."

—By Bruce W. Nelson/  
Cape Town



**Opposition Leader Eglin**

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## World

HAITI

### Limping Toward Democracy

*One year after Duvalier's ouster, bitterness and unrest persist*

Perhaps the best that can be said of Haiti these days is that the worst has not come to pass. The country has not lapsed into civil war. The Tonton Macoutes, President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier's brutal secret police, have not resurfaced, contrary to widespread rumors that they were regrouping in the Dominican Republic. The shaky rule of the National Council of Government continues under the uninspired leadership of Lieut. General Henri Namphy, but the oft-predicted coup has not materialized. One year after Duvalier and his family fled to exile in France, Haiti continues to limp toward democracy.

On the first anniversary of the Duvaliers' departure, Haitians stayed off the streets, a pointed gesture of frustration that contrasted starkly with the exuberant dancing of a year ago. Today, the mood is a potentially explosive mix of bitterness, disappointment and rage. "It is worse now because we were expecting so much," says Sylvester Scriver, 31, a farmer. "Now we have even less." Indeed, almost half of Haiti's 3 million-strong labor force remains unemployed. Most Haitians still earn around \$380 a year, and more than eight out of ten people remain illiterate. In short, Haiti shows no sign of shaking off its sad burden of being the most impoverished nation in the hemisphere. "The social situation has worsened," warns Leslie Manigat, a Haitian political scientist and presidential hopeful. "The poor are getting poorer."

Still, there has been some progress toward instilling a spirit of democracy after

28 years of Duvalier dictatorships. Haitian airwaves crackle day and night with radio programs that invite Haitians to speak their minds. In the legislature, once a rubber stamp for the Duvaliers, spirited debates rage. Sixty assemblymen are currently arguing over the details of a new



Uninspired leadership: Namphy greets a schoolchild

constitution that they promise will be tyrant-proof and will be put to a popular vote next month. Moreover, political parties have proliferated, with more than 70 now vying for popular attention.

But each step forward seems to be offset by disappointing setbacks. Since Duvalier fled and the dreaded Tonton Macoutes disbanded, large pockets of the Haitian countryside have degenerated into lawlessness. Contraband flowing into the country has fueled a rash of burglaries, arson attacks and murders. After all of Haiti's ports were reopened last fall,

illegal rice from Miami hit the market, undercutting local farmers. Inevitably a battle erupted between farmers and profiteering smugglers that has yet to quiet. "Smuggling is unfortunately the No. 1 growth industry in Haiti," says a Western diplomat. "Crime is not far behind." Last week the government called upon the public to cooperate with security forces to fight "acts of banditry and terrorism."

While the Port-au-Prince government is preoccupied with law-and-order, the populace is more disturbed by the slow pace of justice. Although two Duvalier cronies, including Luc Désy, the former Tonton Macoutes chief, have been packed off to prison, scores of others have been allowed to slip out of the country. Says Manigat: "The government is perceived as weak and slow in the de-Duvalierization of the country."

Official attempts to retrieve the hundreds of millions of dollars spirited out of the country by the Duvaliers have a long way to go. Last week Justice Minister François St. Fleur announced that Haiti will sue in France to recoup \$120 million from the Duvaliers. Sources close to the investigation estimate that Duvalier and his cronies actually took three times as much.

There is little on the horizon that offers Haitians much hope of change. In a field crowded with presidential aspirants, no figure has come close to seizing the country's imagination, as Corazon Aquino did in the Philippines. For now, Haiti can be expected to hobble along until the presidential elections scheduled for November. If all goes according to plan, the new President will be installed by the second anniversary of Duvalier's ouster. Perhaps by then Haitians will have something to celebrate. —By Jill Smolowe. Report by Bernard Diederich/Port-au-Prince

### What's Up, Baby Doc?

On a typical day, Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier does not arise from bed until an hour before noon. Then comes the hard part for Haiti's former leader: filling up the hours until another languid day in exile is over.

More often than not, Duvalier drives his Saab 900 or red Ferrari to Cannes, just five miles from the villa he rents from the son of Saudi Billionaire Adnan Khashoggi. Returning home before sundown, he and his wife Michèle often step out for dinner at the top-rated Moulin de Mougins, one of the few restaurants in the south of France where the Duvaliers do not risk having their reservation turned away by hostile locals. Then the couple usually retire behind the walls of their villa and watch television. By the former First Lady's own count, every 15th day she gives her husband a manicure.

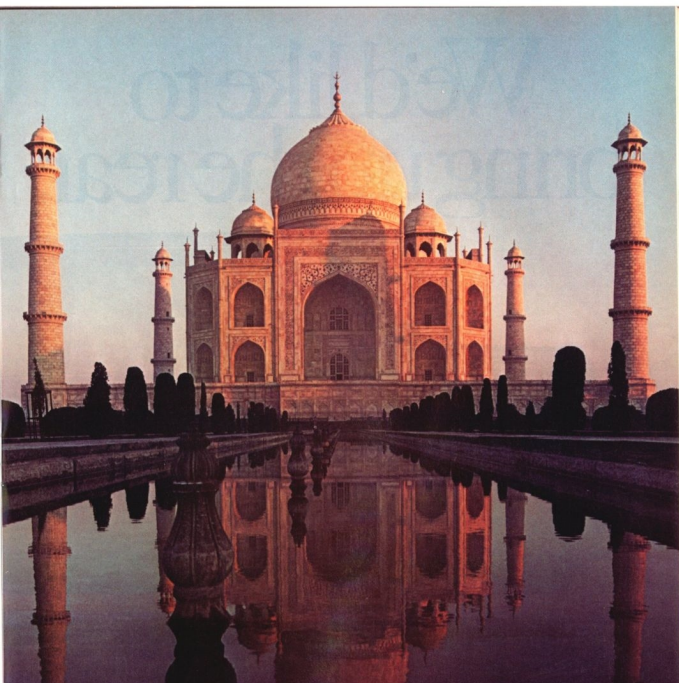
Duvalier refuses to speak with journalists, so it is impossible to know what he thinks of his new life. Given his leg-



A lonely exile after tennis

endary love of cars, women and the good life, it is quite possible that he finds the lazy pace agreeable. His svelte wife, however, has made her boredom plain. In an interview last December with *Vanity Fair*, Michèle Duvalier complained that her days were a "bit empty." At 37, she thinks she might like to pursue a modeling career.

Mrs. Duvalier has said that short of returning to Haiti, she would most like to move to Los Angeles. Duvalier, 35, has expressed a strong preference for staying in France, where he has unsuccessfully sought refugee status. For now, the couple remain confined to a 30-mile strip along the Côte d'Azur, virtually prisoners in a home that is not their own, in a country that officially refuses to accept them.



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## World Notes



Fresh charges are raised about Pinochet



Scotland Yard agents raiding the network



Smog did not stop at the West German border

### CHILE

## Troubled Conscience

A onetime Chilean army captain last week confessed to taking part in a murder, but he also suggested that Chilean President Augusto Pinochet may have been involved. On Sept. 21, 1976, former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier, a Pinochet foe, was killed in Washington when a bomb exploded under his car.

For almost nine years, the U.S. sought to extradite three Chilean secret-police officers believed to be involved in the crime. The Pinochet regime refused to cooperate, but last week one of the officers, Armando Fernandez Larios, claiming his conscience troubled him, admitted he had helped the Chileans find Letelier in the U.S.

With Fernandez facing a ten-year prison sentence as an accessory after the fact, the U.S. Ambassador to Chile requested the extradition of the other two secret-police officers. The Chilean Foreign Ministry is studying the case.

### ALBANIA

## What Could Be More Perfect?

In gymnastics and girl watching, perfection is a 10. In bowling, a perfect score is 300. In a

perfect baseball game, no one gets on base. Last week Communist Albania accomplished an astonishing record: almost perfect parliamentary elections. Every one of the country's 1,830,653 registered voters cast a ballot, and all candidates selected by the Albanian Labor Party won 100% of the votes counted. But alas, a single ballot was declared invalid by officials. Wait till next year.

### BRITAIN

## Police Drama At the BBC

Government raids on newspaper or television offices are usually associated with Latin American dictators or East European police states. But last week one took place in Britain. Scotland Yard agents, using powers under the 1911 Official Secrets Act, showed up at the Glasgow office of the British Broadcasting Corp. looking for information that had been leaked to the network about a supersecret spy satellite known as Zircon. It took Scotland Yard officers 28 hours and three attempts to come up with a valid warrant, but then the police carted off two vanloads of BBC film and documents.

Increasingly at odds with the Thatcher government, BBC executives felt particularly harassed: the government had known about the leak since last

summer, and the BBC had already decided not to air the Zircon exposé because of possible damage to Britain's national security.

### ENVIRONMENT

## An Ill Wind From the East

Millions of wheezing, watery-eyed, coughing West Germans have learned that they share more than a common border and language with East Germany. They also share pollution, notably the kind that comes from East German power plants, which burn lignite, a high-polluting form of coal. Last week a stagnant high-pressure system trapped foul East German air over West Germany for several days.

Hamburg officials ordered all cars off the road, while factories in Bremen and other cities were forced to reduce their output. West Berlin was the hardest-hit area. For two days pollution alerts were broadcast hourly on local radio and television stations, and some West Berliners looked like surgeons as they wandered along the fashionable Kurfürstendamm, the city's famed boulevard, wearing antismog masks.

Meanwhile, in East Germany, autos puffed exhaust into the East Berlin air as usual, and factories operated at full blast.

### DIPLOMACY

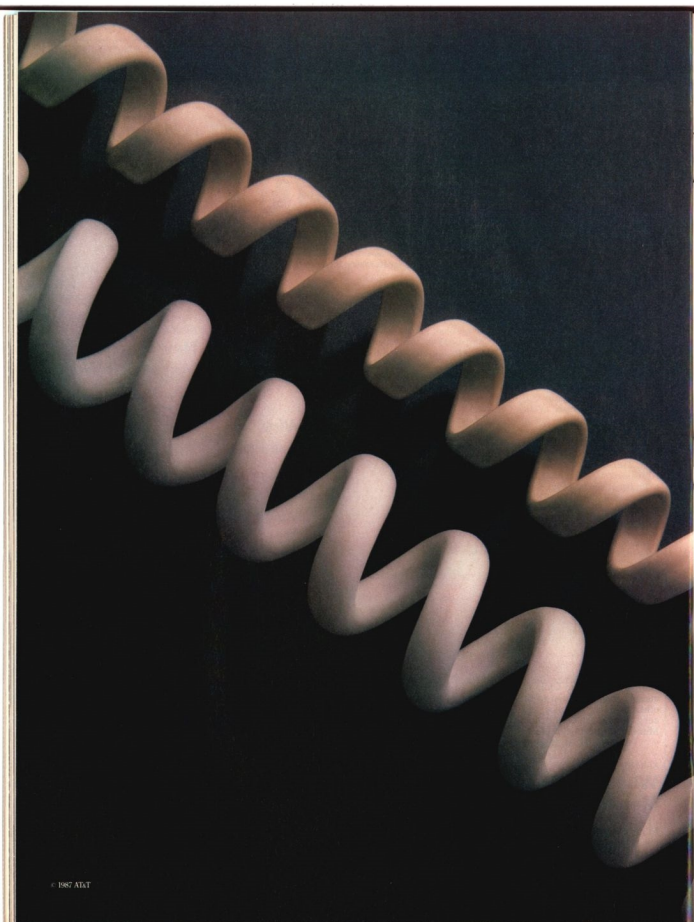
## New Elephants Instead of War

Not since the 1971 India-Pakistan war had such a massive face-off occurred along their heavily fortified border. By early last week, the New Delhi government had deployed 350,000 soldiers in three northern states and Pakistan had positioned 100,000 men.

The buildup had begun last fall when India launched Operation Brass Tacks, a war game that took place along the frontier and involved 180,000 troops. This alarmed Pakistan, which responded by deploying two armored divisions near India's Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir states. Move and countermove began an escalation that threatened to drift into war.

After emergency discussions in New Delhi last week, however, the crisis subsided. Pakistan agreed to withdraw 40,000 troops, while the Indians will pull back 60,000. Both sides will also "avoid all provocative actions."

Instead of war, the two countries turned to trade and games. Pakistan sounded out India about the possibility of importing three elephants to replenish its dwindling supply of five, all living in zoos. In addition, India agreed that Pakistan President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq would visit in February to attend an India-Pakistan cricket match.



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## Economy & Business

Special  
Report  
On  
Corporate  
Restructuring

# Rebuilding To Survive

*U.S. industry is launched on a dramatic drive for greater efficiency*

It is known as downsizing, rationalizing, streamlining and, perhaps most commonly, restructuring. With a bow to the diet culture, some prefer to call it just plain slimming down. By whatever name it goes, a compulsion is sweeping through corporate America to bring about fundamental, long-lasting changes in the way it does business. U.S. corporations have always undergone periodic cutbacks in times of recession or strain, but this time the tone and scope of the effort are vastly different. Says Keith Stock, a partner in the Manhattan-based McKinsey & Co. management consulting firm: "What we're seeing is nothing less than a transformation of American industry."

Forced upon business by unprecedented global competition and financial turbulence, the change is so swift and powerful that it is churning across the business landscape with the force of an army of bulldozers. American companies have started the huge task of rebuilding themselves from the ground up, erecting a sleek new operating architecture to replace the unwieldy processes of the past. At corporate headquarters and on factory floors from New York City to Los Angeles, newly cost-conscious executives are on a relentless examination of the efficiency and effectiveness of everything they do. They are tearing up organization charts, selling off unsatisfactory product lines and closing down unprofitable plants at a rate never seen before. Their aim: to produce streamlined, combative concerns that can withstand the frenetic, competitive pace of the late '80s.

The task has the general aim of sharply cutting back on costs to make dramatic and durable improvements in long-term profitability and growth. Restructuring's theme is "back to basics." That means, among other things, an end to the corporate ethos of expansion for expansion's sake. It spells farewell to the notion, always more imagined than real, of the corporation as a kind of private-sector welfare state, with unlimited perks and unshakable job security. It also in-

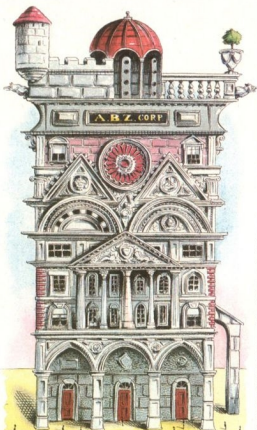
volves frequently deep retrenchment, as U.S. corporations cut back on marginal operations, strip away unnecessary layers of management and staff and refocus their attention on proven areas of profitability. Says James Brown, an executive director of the Conference Board, a business-sponsored research group: "Everybody is cracking down."

So far in the '80s, well over half of the names on the FORTUNE list of the 1,000 largest U.S. corporations have undergone some form of significant reorganization. Gulf & Western in the past four years has spun off some 65 diverse subsidiaries worth more than \$4 billion. IBM has closed three domestic

plants, cut back on employee overtime, and is reducing its U.S. work force 7%, to 225,000, through attrition and early retirement incentives. AT&T last year cut 32,000 out of a work force of 322,000, in an effort to save \$1 billion annually. Among the jobs lost were 11,600 management positions. Many of those who left were coaxed along by payments of up to a year's salary.

United Airlines announced two weeks ago that it would cut about 1,000 employees, or more than a quarter of the Chicago headquarters staff, as part of a program to save \$100 million in 1987. Battered USX, which lost \$1.83 billion in 1986 and fended off the predations of Raider Carl Icahn, last week said it would shut down four steel plants and lay off about 4,000 of its 22,000 active steelworkers. Something of a storm was stirred up last week when the New York Times reported that CBS, which has already pruned some 1,200 of its 15,500 employees, would ask its news division to slice \$50 million from its \$300 million budget. That draconian figure was denied by Chief Executive Officer Laurence Tisch, but the company admitted that it was still looking for ways to improve efficiency. Hundreds of other large corporations are planning or already carrying out slimming-down programs, including Exxon, Union Carbide and Time Inc.

What is remarkable about the



current cutbacks is that they come at a time when the gross national product is expanding at a respectable 2.5% annual rate. The goal of the slimming exercise, then, is not merely to compensate for hard times—though a quick fix for short-term profits is always welcome—but to have a permanent effect. Says Alfred Rappaport, an accounting professor at Northwestern University's Kellogg Graduate School of Management: "Restructuring will be a way of life for a long, long time." Reason: the forces that prompted the movement are still growing in power and momentum.

Chief among those forces is foreign competition. In addition to traditional rivals in Europe and Japan, American companies face an ever expanding roster of formidable competitors in developing countries from South Korea to Brazil. By late 1986, imports amounted to 14.5% of the GNP, up from 10.6% in 1982. One of the industries that has been hit hardest—and made the most radical adjustments—is autos. Struggling General Motors, where profits declined 26% to \$2.9 billion last year, has laid off 6.5% of its 578,000 workers since 1981 and announced plans to close twelve major plants by 1989. At the same time, GM will reduce the number of managers and other salaried workers by 25% by the fall of 1989. Similar moves are under way even at Ford, which earned \$3 billion in 1986 to overtake GM as the most profitable American automaker. Ford plans to cut its salaried payroll by about 20% by 1990.

Another force behind restructuring has been the avalanche of corporate mergers and acquisitions. More than 4,000 of those unions, worth a record \$190 billion, took place last year. After most of the buyouts, the merged company eliminates staff duplications and unprofitable divisions. In the past six years, for example, General Electric spent \$11.1 billion to buy 338 businesses, including RCA, a \$6.3 billion acquisition. During the same period, GE shed 232 businesses worth \$5.9 billion and closed 73 plants and offices.

The buyout spree has created yet another powerful incentive for restructuring: fear of takeover. In many cases, corporations have fought off raiders only by buying up huge amounts of their own stock, and along the way accumulating huge amounts of debt. Once the threat has passed, firms have been forced to restructure to regain profitability. In other cases, they have slashed costs and boosted profitability precisely to keep their stock prices above the level at which they would attract bargain-hunting takeover sharks, who are likely to chop far more brutally and indiscriminately than the present managements. No less a titan than ITT warily shook off a takeover bid by Raider Irwin Jacobs in 1985. That effort gave renewed impetus to a slimming exercise already begun by ITT Chairman Rand Araskog. Since 1980, Araskog has sold off more than 100 businesses, and last year he cut ITT's work force by 100,000, or 44%, and slashed headquarters staff from about 850 to 350. Says Araskog: "Corporate executives have to learn to do things for themselves. Pick up the telephone if it rings. Draft their own memos."

The corporate fitness trend is cresting at a time when some Government officials have taken pointed aim at businessmen for their inefficient ways. Last November, Deputy Treasury Secretary Richard Darman stirred controversy when he used the

terms bloated and corporacy to describe the U.S. business hierarchy. Darman's epithets rebutted executives who blamed federal tax and budget policies for problems with U.S. competitiveness. Both Darman and other officials, however, acknowledge that Big Business is changing its ways. Robert Ortner, chief economist for the Commerce Department, acclaims the present restructuring efforts of corporate America as "amazing."

Amazing, perhaps, but like any radical surgery, however necessary, inevitably painful. The new leanness of U.S. business means, above all, a crackdown on heavy payrolls. A large portion of the layoffs from restructuring have taken place in manufacturing. From 1979 to 1986, total U.S. manufacturing employment declined from some 21 million jobs to 19.1 million. But partly because of this slimming down, U.S. manufacturing productivity—hourly output—has risen by an average of 3.8% annually over the past five years, compared with 1.5% in the '70s. But no such productivity improvement is yet evident outside of manufacturing. Says Treasury's Darman: "We have to make ourselves more efficient in the service sector."

High corporate rank has provided no immunity from the restructuring effort that has taken place so far. "The efficiency problem," Darman points out, "is a white-collar problem even more than a blue-collar problem." Between 1983 and 1987, some 600,000 to 1.2 million middle- and upper-level executives with annual salaries of \$40,000 or more lost their jobs. An additional 200,000 to 300,000 such executives are expected to receive pink slips over the next two years.

At many once paternalistic companies, the cost cutting has produced stunning changes in the corporate culture. Eastman Kodak, which has always prided itself on being a home away from home for its workers, has closed its employee bowling alley and billiard rooms, and no longer provides dinners with dance bands. Reluctantly abandoning its virtual guarantee of job

security, the company trimmed away nearly 13,000 of its 129,000 employees last year as part of a program to save \$500 million annually. Says Kodak Chairman Colby Chandler: "The principal object is to make the company more agile, more competitive and more flexible."

Even with those goals in mind, cutting even one job, says AT&T President Robert Allen, is "painful." Cost cutting can also hurt the companies if it is done sloppily or with too little thought to the future. Robert Reich, a Harvard professor of political economy and management, cautions against "slash-and-burn management" that sacrifices employee loyalty and teamwork with an eye only to short-term profits.

Executives and academics agree, though, that most companies have no choice but to shape up. Says General Electric Chairman John Welch: "The managers in the 1980s who hang onto losing business ventures for whatever reason won't be around in 1990." A less somber view is that the corporations that rid themselves of bureaucratic excess now stand to be among the healthiest entrants in the strenuous competition of the future.

—By George Russell.  
Reported by Jay Brangan/ Washington and Thomas McCarroll/New York



## Economy & Business

The People

### Forced to Make a Fresh Beginning

#### Layoffs pose the challenge of a lifetime

**B**obbie Cooper, a communications manager for MCI, the long-distance phone company, had just returned from her Thanksgiving holiday when she was called into her boss's office. "We are eliminating your position," Cooper was told. At first the message did not quite register. "So where am I going?" she asked. The explanation that followed was painfully clear: she was being fired. Recalls Cooper: "It hit me like a ton of bricks. I was in a state of shock." Cooper, 44, had worked for IBM and one of its subsidiaries for 24 years. She was transferred to MCI when IBM bought a minority stake in the smaller firm last March. Even though Cooper got a severance package of nearly \$38,000 from MCI, she remains stunned as she looks for a new job: "They told me to clear my desk and pack my things. And I was gone, just like that. Poof."

Whatever length of service, in small companies or sprawling conglomerates, everyone from floor sweepers to senior executives is facing the possibility of job loss. Despite the merits of restructuring, corporations seem well aware that their new austerity moves pose unprecedented challenges for their employees. By and large, affected firms are trying to ease the pain. More companies than ever before are relying on early-retirement schemes and generous severance packages to entice voluntary resignations as a means of meeting slimming goals. For some employees, no amount of compensation can adequately make up for the loss of the job. But for others, the golden handshake can provide a liberating opportunity to get out of a dead-end job and start afresh somewhere else.

Getting fired, though, is always a jolt. Once the shock has worn off, many people are left with a fragile sense of self-esteem. Even those who remain at work are affected by layoffs, suffering both from what is often called survivor's guilt and from apprehension about their own jobs. Says Elizabeth Uporsky, 30, an accounts-receivable specialist at AT&T, which is undergoing major staff reductions: "Everybody is walking around on pins and needles wondering if they're going to be next. We're reminded of what's happening every day. We have rows and rows of empty cubicles and desks."

For the former occupants of those empty desks, finding a new job can prove difficult. Though the unemployment rate has declined from 10.8% to 6.7% since the 1981-82 recession, the jobless level is still high by historical standards. Since so many companies are resorting to layoffs simultaneously, job seekers may encounter more competitors seeking fewer opportunities. Those who have worked in specialized jobs often find that their particular skills are not readily transferable to new jobs.

More and more companies try to help departing employees find work. Seven years ago, 16% of the 1,000 largest industrial companies offered job-placement or counseling services for outgoing employees. Today, 51% do. In addition, private agencies set up to help laid-off workers find jobs are proliferating. Some 300 of these outplacement firms now operate, compared with twelve companies a decade ago. Says Robert Hecht, chairman of Lee Hecht Harrison, a New York City-based outplacement firm: "Years ago people thought only deadbeats and the lame ended up in outplacement. But that has changed."

Many refugees from large corporations land jobs in fast-growing small companies or start their own businesses. John Cain, 47, left General Electric two years ago when his job as a manager in computer operations was phased out. A 23-year veteran at GE, Cain decided to "chase a life-long dream," which was to be his own boss. He founded Connecticut-based Scientific Systems, which markets an electronic filing and word-processing program designed for job seekers. Says Cain: "Had I not left GE, I probably would have never been able to pursue this. I wanted to prove to myself that I wasn't ready to be set out to pasture."

After 15 years as an accountant for Denver-based Haley-Roth, a health-care firm, Virginia Hughes, 66, is trying to parlay her part-time work as a wedding planner into a full-time career. John Nostrand, 51, had worked for Union Carbide for 15 years when, in December 1985, he took early retirement from his \$45,000-a-year job as a manager of factory automation. Nostrand now works as a consultant for the Coopers & Lybrand accounting firm, making about 15% more than he did at Carbide.

Other laid-off workers find they are happier even without their old paychecks. Two years ago, Harry Marsh lost his \$30,000-a-year job as a structural engineer for Chicago-based CBI Industries after working there for 18 years. After he had unsuccessfully looked for work for eight months, Marsh decided to stay home with his daughter, 14, and son, 11. His wife earns enough at Bell Laboratories to support the family, and Marsh has launched a small upholstery business that brings in about \$5,000 a year. Now that they are saving on taxes, commuting, child care and other expenses, the family's financial position is not much below what it was when Marsh worked at CBI.

The upheavals in corporate America are likely to make large companies lose some of the allure they once held for job seekers. Certainly people will no longer count on a corporation to provide lifetime job security. Says Paul Hirsch, professor of business policy at the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business: "The new culture is to keep your nose clean and your bags packed. The moral that people see around them is, if you fall in love with your company, you're going to get burned."

That is at once too harsh and oversimplified. But at least one lesson is clear: just as companies must adjust to changing times and tougher competitive conditions, so must their employees learn to do the same. —By Barbara Rudolph. Reported by Lisa Kartus/Chicago and Thomas McCarroll/New York

Bobbie Cooper

Still Looking



After 24 years, starting over is tough

Harry Marsh

Working at a New Place



Now an upholsterer with time for his family



## Main Street Feels the Pinch

*Communities learn to live with plant closings*

**N**ot long ago the bustling factory floor at the Black & Decker plant in Brockport, N.Y. (pop. 9,000), was the busiest spot in town. As many as 1,300 people worked there, making electric can openers and carving knives. Now a ghostly silence has fallen over the once humming machines. Black & Decker shifted much of the plant's production to other countries and suddenly closed the factory last Christmas. In one swift blow, Brockport lost its largest employer. About \$4 million in severance pay has so far softened the impact on the community, but the money is fast running out. Says former Plant Manager Louis Reali: "If we don't get another company in here, the folks who used to work here are going to pack up and drift away. And then what have we got? Just an empty building and a town with no future."

Like Brockport, many towns and cities are suffering devastating setbacks as corporate America slims down. Of course, the

town to a virtual ghost town overnight. More than 1,000 jobs disappeared with the closing of the mine, and Ajo's population dropped from 8,000 to 2,800. The town's hospital, which had been built by Phelps Dodge, closed for lack of use.

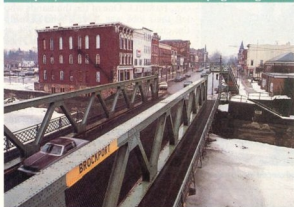
Sometimes a city is hurt when its leading company becomes embroiled in a takeover fight. As headquarters for Phillips Petroleum (1986 revenues: \$10 billion), Bartlesville, Okla. (pop. 35,000), paid its own price after the eighth largest U.S. oil company fought off takeover raids by T. Boone Pickens Jr. in 1984 and by Carl Icahn the following year. Though Phillips kept its independence, it took on some \$4.5 billion in new debts and was forced to shed \$2 billion in assets in a subsequent reorganization. Partly as a result, Phillips employment in Bartlesville, which had peaked at 9,000 in 1981, was slashed to 5,000 workers. Local unemployment rose from 3.9% in 1984 to 6.7% last year.

Because many of the displaced employees chose early retirement and stayed in the area, the long-term impact of the Phillips cuts was not as damaging as it might have been. Still, most business leaders in town say their customers are more cautious spenders now. Observes David Oakley, president of Oakley Pontiac-Buick: "People are starting to hang on to cars a little longer. My new-car sales are off, but service is way up."

When a company is successfully taken over, its headquarters town becomes especially vulnerable. Blue Bell, the manufacturer

Brockport, N.Y.

Hoping for High Tech



A toolmaker's pullout cost the town its largest employer

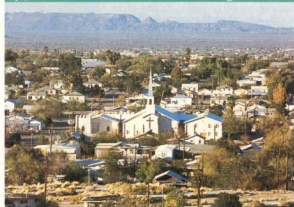
purpose of restructuring is to make companies healthier and ensure their survival. The process can save thousands of jobs spread over many cities. But at the same time, inefficient and obsolete factories must often be shut down. In communities that have only a few dominant companies or industries, the consequences of such a plant closing can be wrenching. The impact ripples through every part of the society, from stores and schools to hospitals and the arts. Though towns hit by closings frequently attract new industry and grow healthier in the long run, the transitional phase is always stressful.

Flint, Mich. (pop. 144,000), some 50 miles north of Detroit, is a casualty of the foreign competition encircling American automakers. Nearly one-third of the work force in the area draws its pay from General Motors. But as part of a major reorganization plan, GM will close two Flint assembly plants this year and eliminate 10,000 local jobs by 1989. A study by the University of Michigan indicates that Flint's struggling service sector will not be able to create enough new jobs to make up for the GM cuts. Area unemployment, already 10%, is expected to rise to 13% by mid-1988. City Administrator Robert Collier says plant closings will depress local income tax revenues by about \$1 million during the next year, while the school system will lose some \$2 million in property taxes.

Restructuring can be almost a death notice for a one-company town. When New York City-based Phelps Dodge (1986 operating revenues: \$846 million) decided to shut down its copper mine in Ajo, Ariz., in 1983 because of tough price competition from abroad, the community was transformed from a boom-

Ajo, Ariz.

Making a Comeback



Now that the mine is shut, the area has become a haven for retirees

of Wrangler jeans, shut down its Greensboro, N.C., headquarters after the company was acquired by VF Corp. That put 300 people out of work and meant the end of Blue Bell's strong support of Greensboro's arts and civic activities. Thirty miles to the west, Winston-Salem was dealt a similar blow after R.J. Reynolds merged with Nabisco Brands in 1985. Last month R.J.R. Nabisco announced it will move its corporate headquarters from Winston-Salem to Atlanta, taking along not only some 250 jobs but the considerable corporate prestige and financial largesse that Reynolds had showered on its home city for more than a century.

But as serious as such setbacks are, they are rarely insuperable. A closing can ultimately prove beneficial if it spurs a town to diversify its economy and attract space-age industries to replace traditional ones. Brockport officials, for example, hope to lure a cluster of high-tech companies. As a drawing card, they point out that Rochester, with its universities and scientific companies like Eastman Kodak, is only 18 miles to the east of Brockport. As soon as Black & Decker finishes packing up its equipment, the village will be able to offer a large, modern industrial plant to interested companies, saving them the cost of building space. Bartlesville officials, meanwhile, hope that the city's large population of highly skilled early retirees may be able to establish some sophisticated consulting firms. Ajo has actually made a virtue of its trouble. Though it may never again be an industrial town, Ajo's Sunbelt location and ample supply of cheap housing have attracted hundreds of retirees. They say they appreciate the peace and quiet.

—By Janice Castro. Reported by Roger Franklin/  
Brockport and Lee Griggs/Bartlesville



## Two in Pursuit Of a Turnaround

*Results can be swift or frustratingly slow*

*Like dieters, corporations always launch into restructuring programs with grand hopes. But the speediness of the results ranges widely, as illustrated by two giant Midwestern companies that have gone through drastic reorganizations. While a streamlining program enabled Control Data, the computer maker, to bounce back from near bankruptcy faster than almost anyone expected, a similar process at Firestone Tire & Rubber has proved frustratingly slow in restoring the company's vigor. Their stories:*

### A COMPUTER FIRM REBOUNDS

Little more than a year ago, Control Data looked like a high-tech has-been. The Minneapolis-based company was piling up a staggering 1985 loss of more than \$567 million (revenues that year: \$3.7 billion). Bankers were refusing to extend the company any more short-term credit, while Wall Streeters were whispering that the firm might have to seek Chapter 11 protection. But today Control Data is running smoothly again, thanks to an overhaul in which the company dumped unprofitable sidelines, sharpened its focus on computer technology and cut its payroll from 54,000 at the end of 1984 to 34,000 in 1986. "This is one of the most dramatic turnarounds that I've ever seen," boasts John Buckner, Control Data's chief financial officer.

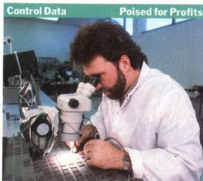
Control Data got into trouble by developing "corporate bloat," or corporate bloat, at a relatively early age. William Norris, a former Sperry Rand general manager who started the company in 1957, had managed by the early 1960s—with a staff of only a few thousand em-

ployees—to take the industry lead in building high-speed computers for scientists and engineers. But as the company grew and prospered during the 1970s, the founder's interests began to wander toward wide-ranging and public-spirited ventures that diverted money and managerial attention. The company built factories in low-income regions like Appalachia, tried to develop a technique for farming in rural Alaska, and ventured into insurance and consumer finance, among dozens of other pursuits.

Control Data could afford to support its social conscience during good times, but when the computer industry slumped in the early 1980s, the company nearly collapsed from the weight of its commitments. Control Data's distracted managers were neglecting the firm's core technologies, like data-storage devices, while competitors raced ahead. The company's worldwide share of the market for disk drives reportedly plunged from 55% in 1980 to about 20% in 1985. The computer maker feverishly began cleaning house in 1985, not long before its financial squeeze. The company proceeded to discard some 20 businesses that were too far removed from its basic field. The biggest divestiture came last October, when Control Data sold off 80% of its Commercial Credit subsidiary, a financial-services firm, for \$523.9 million.

Control Data's massive layoffs created culture shock for employees because the company had been so progressive in its benefits, including day care and family counseling. The remaining employees gamely cheered one another by wearing buttons that read IT'S O.K. TO SMILE. One of the thousands who left their jobs was Norris, who gave up the chairman's post in January 1986 at age 74 to let his successor Robert Price have a freer hand in dismantling the founder's overgrown dream.

But Price's narrower vision is starting to produce what Control Data needs most at the moment: profits. The company is now more focused on what it knows best, computers, just in time to take advantage of an upturn in that business. Indeed, analysts expect Control Data to show a profit as high as \$80 million for 1987, compared with a loss of \$264.5 million last year.



The focus has returned to advanced electronics

### A TIREMAKER LAGS

Back in 1980, years before restructuring was a corporate buzz word, Firestone was practically inventing the idea. Unfortunately, the company is still working at it. Of Firestone's 17 North American tire plants, it has closed nine and sold another; the company has also slashed its payroll from 107,000 workers to 55,000. Yet the tiremaker's financial comeback remains around the corner. During fiscal 1986, which ended in October, Firestone posted \$3.5 billion in sales but managed to earn only \$3 million from its continuing operations. The company's chairman, John Nevin, admits that restructuring has an element of trial and error. Says he: "Have we done some things wrong? You bet your life we did."

When Nevin arrived at the company in late 1979 from the chairman's job at Zenith, Akron-based Firestone was reeling under more than \$1 billion in debt and an image problem in its most basic business. The company had been forced to recall some 9 million of its 500-model steel-belted radial tires because of alleged widespread defects. Nevin's strategy was to return Firestone's focus to tiremaking by spinning off distracting subsidiaries. He sold eleven businesses that manufactured

dozens of items, from seat belts to beer kegs. Such products now constitute only 9% of the company's sales, down from 26% in 1979.

But difficult conditions in the tire market have given Firestone poor traction for making progress. The market has not only grown smaller—the result of today's long-lasting radial tires—but more competitive. Prices have fallen because of rising production by foreign rivals, notably France's Michelin and Japan's Bridgestone. At the same time, Goodyear and other U.S. rubber giants are also revamping themselves and boosting their commitment to tiremaking.



Intense competition has helped stall the long-awaited recovery

So far, Firestone's restructuring, while reducing its debt load, has failed to improve its standing in the market. The company's sales have shrunk by one-third since 1979, and its position in the worldwide business has fallen from No. 2 to No. 3. Firestone can only hope that as the first to slim down, it may also be the first to enjoy fully the benefits of greater efficiency and lower costs. Says Nevin: "The pruning we've done is pretty severe, but this company is beginning to grow again."

—By Stephen Koepf. Reported by Marc Hequet/Minneapolis and Ken Myers/Akron

## Business Notes



Greyhound attracted plenty of takers for its 59¢ cross-country tickets

OIL

### Is the Wild Ride Over?

During the past year, the price of oil has been on a roller-coaster ride that has taken it from \$25 a bbl. down to below \$10 and then back up to almost \$18. But the wild ride appears to be over for the time being, much to the relief of producers and consumers alike. When Treasury Secretary James Baker met with his Saudi Arabian counterpart Mohammed Ali Abdul Khail in Khail's country last week, the two finance officials seemed to think that worldwide crude prices had finally settled at a mutually agreeable level. The current price still provides consumers with relatively cheap energy but is less likely than \$10 a bbl. to create economic disaster for oil-producing countries and the U.S. energy belt. One sign that the current price may stick: four major U.S. oil companies reached an agreement with Saudi Arabia last week to buy crude at nearly \$18 a bbl. for at least the next five months.

AUTOS

### Here Come Oltcit and Dacia

When Yugoslavia's Yugo invaded the U.S. in 1985, Americans got their first chance to

test the workmanship of a Communist automaker. The reaction so far has been lukewarm, but now another East European country is preparing an assault on the U.S. market. Auto-Dacia, Rumania's state-run car company, plans to introduce its Oltcit, Aro and Dacia models this spring. That could start a price war among comrades. The Oltcit, a three-door hatchback, will go for \$3,980—\$10 less than the cost of a Yugo GV.

POLLUTION CONTROL

### A Sweet Side To Acid Rain

One reason the U.S. Government has been in a quandary about what to do on the issue of acid-rain pollution is the widespread assumption that the cost of a cleanup would be prohibitive. Now a computer model of the economic impact of two acid-rain-control bills before Congress suggests the opposite is true.

According to a study released last week by Management Information Services, a Washington-based research organization, legislation to reduce sulfur-dioxide emissions from coal-fired utilities would result in a net gain of up to 195,000 American jobs and \$13 billion in annual sales for U.S. companies. "Far from hurting the industry," the report says, "the large purchase of capital equipment and up-

porting goods and services... will provide a much needed shot in the arm."

The benefits would not be evenly distributed, however. States producing high-sulfur coal, among them Kentucky, Illinois and Pennsylvania, would come up losers. But some coal-burning states in the Midwest would be among the biggest winners. Michigan, for example, a heavily industrialized state that would be in a position to manufacture pollution-control equipment, could pick up nearly 14,000 new jobs and more than \$1 billion in annual corporate revenues.

TRANSPORTATION

### A Coffee Cup On Wheels

Is intercity bus service, badly hurt by competition from discount airlines, headed the way of the stagecoach? It did not look that way last week, as ticket buyers by the thousands queued at bus terminals in Dallas, Atlanta and ten other Southern cities, forming ragged lines that stretched for blocks. For one hour only, the largest U.S. bus company, Greyhound Lines, offered 59¢ tickets to New York City, Los Angeles, and anywhere else its drivers go. The response to the promotional gimmick, which was designed to call attention to the company's new \$59 fares on many routes, was overwhelming. About 20,000 tick-

ets were sold. "A bus ride is sure worth the cost of a cup of coffee," said Blondeane Jones, 35, of Dallas, who stood in line overnight for a chance to visit her brother in Columbus, Ga.

TELEPHONES

### Long-Distance Family Feud

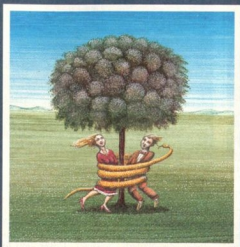
The Baby Bells are growing up and threatening to get into a lot of mischief. At least that is the view of their old Ma. Since the seven regional phone companies were spun off from AT&T three years ago, they have been allowed to diversify into real estate leasing and publishing, among other ventures. Now they might get the go-ahead to compete in many businesses with their former parent. The Justice Department has recommended that U.S. District Judge Harold Greene, the overseer of the Bell breakup, remove nearly all restrictions on regional phone companies, permitting the Baby Bells to sell electronic information services, manufacture telephone equipment and provide long-distance service if it is outside their area of local monopoly.

AT&T staunchly opposes the recommendation. It agreed to the breakup with the understanding that its offspring would stay out of the manufacturing and long-distance businesses and feels the Justice Department is trying to tear up the original deal.



At \$18 a bbl., the Saudis find a petroleum price they can live with

## Living



COVER STORIES

# The Big Chill: Fear of AIDS

*How heterosexuals are coping with a disease that can make sex deadly*



*She stared at him, dazed and transfixed, and he went over and kneeled beside her, and took her two feet close in his two hands . . . Then he looked up at her with that awful appeal in his full, glowing eyes. She was utterly incapable of resisting it. From her breast flowed the answering, immense yearning over him; she must give him anything, anything.*

*He was a curious and very gentle lover, very gentle with the woman, trembling uncontrollably, and yet at the same time detached, aware, aware of every sound outside.*

*To her it meant nothing except that she gave herself to him.*

—*Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928)

Constance Chatterley in love—the quintessence of romantic adventure in which two people meet, lock eyes, feel an instant thrill of attraction and soon fall into passionate sex. Lady C.'s erotic enthusiasm caused D.H. Lawrence's novel to be banned as obscene not so long ago; the book was finally cleared in the U.S. in 1959. By then it could take its place on shelves crowded with explicit fiction that celebrated the new ideal of sexual behavior it had helped to inspire. Freedom, spontaneity, pleasure without guilt became the bywords of the liberated '60s and '70s, as many men and women evolved freewheeling rituals of courtship in singles bars, in casual affairs and in relationships in which the outcomes remained insouciantly negotiable.

Today, strangely enough, it is possible to imagine a future in which *Lady Chatterley* might again be banned for setting a harmful example, but this time in a grimly different sense. The specter of the deadly and incurable disease called AIDS—acquired immunodeficiency syndrome—has cast a shadow over the American sexual landscape. Since AIDS is chiefly transmitted through sex, it is forcing partners to a painful re-examination of their bedroom practices. The heedless abandon of Lawrencian lovers begins to seem dangerous and irresponsible, for oneself and for others. Instead of a transfixed gaze, lovers may feel they have to give each other a detailed grilling on present health and past liaisons.

At first AIDS seemed an affliction of drug addicts and especially of homosexuals, a "gay disease." No longer. The numbers as yet are small, but AIDS is a growing threat to the heterosexual population. Straight men and women in some cases do not believe it, in some cases do not want to believe it. But barring the development of a vaccine, swingers of all persuasions may sooner or later be faced with the reality of a new era of sexual caution and restraint.

There has been little time for comment or public debate about this particular impact of AIDS, but ominous news keeps emerging. Once figures have been fully reported, the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta expects the number of deaths at-

tributable to heterosexual transmission to have doubled in 1986. Right now, heterosexual infection—among the sex partners of intravenous drug abusers, bisexuals or anyone who has the virus—accounts for 3.8% of the 30,000 AIDS cases in the country, but that figure is expected to rise to 5.3% by 1991. Newly published studies on these male and female AIDS patients and their partners indicate that the disease is bidirectional, that is, passed on by both men and women.

More disturbing is the potential scope of the disease, based on the rate of transmission and the varying incubation period, which some health authorities think may last as long as ten years. More than 1 million Americans are thought to be infected with the virus, and more than 90% of them do not know it.

The fear of deadly plague seemed to die out after the control of polio in the early 1960s, but the word has been applied to AIDS. In Africa it is a heterosexual disease rapidly infecting the heart of the continent. Around the U.S., health officials are calling for enormous increases in AIDS testing for pregnant women and even for couples applying for marriage licenses. More than any measures, however, health officials at every level are pleading for what is very nearly a social revolution. Says U.S. Health and Human Services Secretary Otis R. Bowen: "I can't emphasize too strongly the necessity of changing life-styles."

To America in the '80s that means rescinding the sexual revolution of the past quarter-century. Five years ago, concern about herpes caused a similar scare, one

*"I am sure I have passed on the virus. I can't get in touch with him. If I could, I don't know whether to tell him and let him spend the rest of his life worrying, or not tell him and let him go and spread it further."*



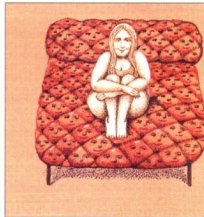
test results and thrust condoms into their hands. Wouldn't it be easier to give up sex altogether and join some religious order?" With a little emendation the same plaint can be made by men. "You think twice," observes a 28-year-old male patron of Lucy's, a crowded singles bar on Manhattan's West Side. "If sex is too easy, I just won't take it."

Public bewilderment at the disease is taking many forms. Conservative leaders see it as a summons to chastity or monogamy. Many people, dealing with the absolute death sentence that AIDS imposes, consider it a vague sort of retribution, an Old Testament-style revenge. Says a Los Angeles entertainment writer: "Sexual disease has been around for thousands of years. It reappears when monogamy breaks down. AIDS pushes monogamy right back up there on the priority list."

vices have been deluged by phone calls. AID Atlanta, a hot line designed to help gays, finds that 85% of its callers are heterosexuals who fear they might have the disease. Moreover, 40% of calls to the AIDS hot line in Illinois are from worried women. "Most say, 'I had too much to drink, and I went home with this guy,'" says Director Mary Fleming. "I hear stark terror in heterosexual women, who are deciding to be celibate."

**T**here is reason for women to be alarmed. Kris, 37, is an attractive divorcee from Pasadena, Calif., and the mother of a teenage daughter. In 1983 she embarked on a "sexually indiscriminate" period of her life during which she had about 15 sexual partners. "I never gave a thought to AIDS," recalls Kris. "I didn't even know there was a threat." After two frustrating years of incorrect diagnosis, the disease was finally identified, first as AIDS-related complex, then as AIDS. She does not know who gave her AIDS or whom she might have infected. "I am sure I have passed on the virus. I can't get in touch with him. If I could, I don't know whether to tell him and let him spend the rest of his life worrying, or not tell him and let him go and spread it further."

More than 1,870 women in the U.S. have AIDS. In New York City, which has the highest concentration of victims, 10% of those with the disease are female. Women who are sexually active must face some hard choices: playing out Erica Jong's little scenario is not easy. Says Judith Cohen, a University of California at San Francisco epidemiologist who for the past two years has been surveying some 500 women at high risk of catching the virus: "The sheer political and power issues involved in telling someone that you think using a condom would be a good idea are real difficult and complicated. They raise questions like, 'Are you telling me that you already have the virus?' or 'What else have you been doing that's socially unacceptable?'" For many women, especially single women in their 20s, going slowly is the only guideline. Karoline Harrington, 24, an editorial assistant in Manhattan, says couples now have a greater tendency to just "hang out. Foreplay is a big part of it. People want to please each other."



*"I've been in situations where it's fun and you're at the point where you're so aroused, you're not going to want to stop. You're not thinking five years down the line, you're thinking now."*

that seems trivial by comparison. Now "safe sex" are the watchwords. The mechanics of copulation have become public to a degree unthinkable only a year ago, with detailed discussions in the press and on television of bodily secretions and sexual protection like condoms.

In a shrewd Washington *Post* column, Novelist Erica Jong (*Fear of Flying*), formerly a high priestess of sexual abandon, put the dilemma succinctly: "It's hard enough to find attractive single men without having to quiz them on their history of bisexuality and drug use, demand blood-

An Atlanta executive concludes, "We are paying for our sins of the '60s, when one-night stands and sex without commitment used to be chic." More than anything, the public wants guidelines, new rules for unprecedented circumstances. The definition of "high-risk sexual activity" is chilling: according to health experts, it includes fellatio and vaginal and anal sex without a condom, and cunnilingus without a shield. Anyone engaging in sex with a new partner or with a long-term partner whose sexual history is unknown is at risk. No wonder health departments and ser-



er, but sleeping together is a big deal."

Young heterosexual men seem to be the most blasé about the disease. "Men just can't get it through their skulls that they could have caught AIDS from a woman," says Michael Brown, an AIDS specialist in Long Beach, Calif. "Men have a strong denial going on," comments Mark Saginor, assistant clinical professor of medicine at UCLA. "Somebody else will get it, but not me." Or, "She's so nice. There is no way she can have it."

Some middle-class whites think AIDS only infects gays and poor minority-group members. "People believe that the higher the cover charge at a bar, the less likely they're going to run into AIDS," says Anna Gomez, 29, in South Miami's Parallel Bar. Says playwright (*Torch Song Trilogy*) and Gay Activist Harvey Fierstein: "It's very hard for straight people to understand what the hell this is. The ugliness of the disease is that every stranger has it; everyone you like doesn't have it."

Active bisexuals are one route of viral

able truth." Their soon-to-be published research indicates that 80% of wives of bisexual men in the sample were ignorant of their husbands' gay activity.

**T**he problem of bisexuality is especially poignant in the world of the arts and entertainment, where sexual exoticism in general is more tolerated than in society as a whole. Virtually every arts institution has suffered its losses, and the community is on guard. "Anyone who's dating in the fashion community worries," says a lingerie model with the Ford agency. "You just don't know." Before engaging in sex with a man, she dates him five or six times, and, in an effort to protect herself, asks for a complete sexual history and finally insists that he use a condom. O.J. Elledge, a former National Ballet of Canada dancer who is now a counselor to AIDS victims, has seen a "dramatic change in approach to sexuality" among performers. "There is a lot less playing around. It's not the way it once

about their sexual past. "It's really uncomfortable asking 'How many guys have you been with?'" he says. "It is none of my business." But for the time being, he is not asking. "I've been in situations where it's fun and you're at the point where you're so aroused, you're not going to want to stop. You're not thinking five years down the line, you're thinking now."

Even at colleges where a few students have died from AIDS, the operative line is, "I'm heterosexual; it won't happen to me." Dr. Richard Carlson, the director of health services at Columbia University in New York City, has countered youth's "immortal" feelings by installing condom dispensers in the health-services-building rest rooms and distributing a 31-page pamphlet on safe sex.

The unflinchingly direct language of the Columbia guidelines leaves no room for confusion. On the subject of condoms, for example: "During withdrawal, hold the rim of the condom firmly against the penis so that the condom cannot slip off and no semen can escape." On fellatio: "The risk here is for the partner performing fellatio. It is common to have small cuts and sores in the mouth; even brushing your teeth can cause abrasions. This creates a route of entry for the virus in semen." On assessing personal risk: "Are you a man who has had sex with other men that involved the exchange of body fluids at any time since 1977? A single contact may have been sufficient for infection to occur."

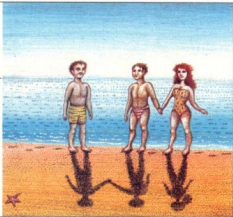
Students have so far largely ignored Carlson's efforts, leaving the booklets in piles by mail stations. Ironically, their younger brothers and sisters may be more enlightened. At Edison High School in New Jersey, some students use condoms as the status birth control of choice—much the way teenagers in the '50s did. "Some youngsters are better able to deal with the realities than adults who came out of the '70s and who enjoyed freedom so long," says Gerri Abelson, coordinator of the AIDS curricula in New York City public schools.

**P**ermissive behavior has not disappeared from campus life, but some attitudes are being reconsidered.

Monica Feinberg, 22, a heterosexual Yale graduate, maintains that bisexual dating, which was not only accepted but chic among some students at certain Ivy League colleges, is no longer exciting and fun. "It was mostly experimentation," she stresses. "The students do not consider themselves bisexual... They felt that sleeping around was no longer a novelty. They moved on to something else."

Many universities are sponsoring AIDS-education programs and classes. Two weeks ago, the University of California, Berkeley held a national symposium on "AIDS and the College Campus," attended by about 435 representatives from nearly 90 colleges, at which the reportedly first straight safe-sex educational film, *Norma and Tony*, was shown. It indicated that there is much progress to be made in

"We see a lot of married men come in this bar. They're part of the afternoon cocktail crowd. They come in, talk, fool around and then leave. I doubt many of their wives suspect anything at all."



transmission to the female population. In 1984 Free-Lance Writer Alexandra Wolf, 41, met a charming man in Hollywood. "We hit it off really well," she recalls, deciding at the time not to use any sexual precautions because "it's not a risk-free world, and I'm going to take the chance." After four encounters, he confessed he was a bisexual whose previous lover had died from an AIDS-related cancer. Ten months later, tests confirmed that Wolf had the virus in her bloodstream.

"We see a lot of married men come in this bar," says Jason McCoy, 30, a bartender in an Atlanta gay bar. "They're part of the afternoon cocktail crowd. They come in, talk, fool around and then leave. I doubt many of their wives suspect anything at all." Dooley Worth, a leader of a Manhattan discussion group for women exposed to AIDS, says men do not like to admit their bisexuality. "If a relationship is really rotten," she advises the group, "change the assumption that there is another woman. It may be a man." Aurele Samuels, a researcher working with Dorothea Hays, a nursing professor at Adelphi University on a study of wives of bisexual men, believes that to most women "bisexuality is an unaccept-

was." But Ty Granaroli, 27, a heterosexual corps de ballet dancer at American Ballet Theatre observes, "Straights feel very secure. That's a mistake."

Despite the concern of some, the quiet majority of heterosexuals in America apparently do not feel threatened. A recent NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll found that AIDS has no effect on the way 92% of the population conducts their lives. This is especially true on the nation's college campuses, where sex tends to be impulsive.

"You look for signs, blisters, physical manifestations," says Abby, 19, who has dated college men. "But if somebody doesn't look as if they have a disease, you don't use condoms." One of her friends, Lenna, a Berkeley freshman, complains about phone calls from her mother demanding "no oral or anal sex, and once you get it, you're dead." Students admit hearing about AIDS daily, but to most of them it is simply not a personal problem. Though herpes is still a campus concern, condoms are generally considered an inconvenience. A few students are apprehensive about the future, however. Paul, 21, a business major at UCLA, figures that in a few years he will have to quiz women

this new field. For 30 minutes, Norma and Tony painstakingly covered themselves with spermicides, condoms and latex squares before engaging in intercourse. The film was so cautiously clinical that a group of viewers quickly lost interest in *Norma and Tony*, and even in sex for that matter, focusing instead on the number and variety of odd-textured and -shaped devices employed.

The slow work of education continues. An organizer of safe-sex programs at the Claremont Colleges in Southern California explains his teaching tactics: "You have to be sneaky. You tell them it is about sex, and when they're there you tell them it's mostly about AIDS. By then they're already sitting down." Claremont sponsored a "Sex and the Single Student" week during which 2,700 condoms were handed out.

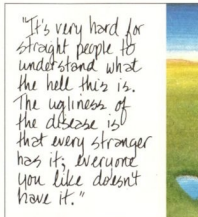
Despite the fanfare, most educators think it will take more than education to change sexual mores. "We're a generation away from accepting condoms," says Mary Sherman, a public-health educator at Berkeley. Dr. Richard Keeling, chairman of the American College Health Association's task force on AIDS, admits that some people cannot be reached through education. "There is a despairing theory in health education that says until there is some horrible base-line number of people who have died, the disease doesn't become personal enough to the rest of the community for it to take fundamental changes in behavior seriously."

It may have to hit home. "Since they're just experiencing their sexual prime and want to act on it, young people push AIDS into their subconscious," says Greg Reynolds, 26, a practicing bisexual in Miami. "But as more people are getting sick and dying of AIDS, it starts hitting their friends. It is much more effective than reading about it in the media. You think, 'I knew him. I could be next.'"

The potential spread of AIDS can be grasped by observing the ways in which other sexually transmitted diseases, such as gonorrhea, chlamydia and genital herpes, move through the country. "There are a minimum of 6 million S.T.D.s recorded annually," says Dr. German Maisonet, medical director of the Los Angeles Minority AIDS Project. "Which means that

about every five seconds an American is involved in a high-risk sexual practice minus a condom."

Condoms, if used properly, have been shown to help prevent the virus from being transmitted. But Dr. Marcus Conant of the California department of health task force on AIDS cautions against thinking of condoms as a panacea. "They are not a surefire way to avoid pregnancy," he points out, "and it is probably just as easy



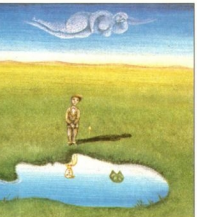
to catch AIDS [from a carrier] as to get pregnant."

Nonetheless, after ten years of declining sales, condoms are experiencing a boom in the U.S. Revenues have increased 10% in the past year. With the promise of profit comes an infusion of ingenuity. Japanese manufacturers offer a wide variety of styles, from condoms embossed with flowers to multiscented brands. For homosexuals there is a new, more durable brand in the works.

**A**IDS is a "condom marketer's dream," says John Silverman, president of Ansell Americas, the sellers of LifeStyles condoms, whose most startling magazine ad, directed at American women, features a young woman resolutely proclaiming, "I enjoy sex, but I'm not ready to die for it." Mentor, a new line, is marketed directly to women, who purchase nearly half the condoms sold.

It comes in a tiny plastic cup designed for women's purses (the traditional flat packaging is for men's wallets).

What does all this leave to the imagination? What quarter remains for fantasy, for risqué comedy or high melodrama? Do big-screen heroines engage in safe sex? Bisexuality was a popular metaphor in '70s entertainment, but it is hard to picture a film like *Sunday, Bloody Sunday* being made now. Its sexually ambivalent central character

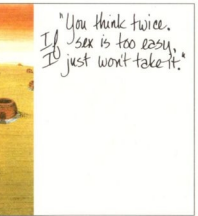
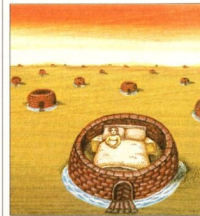


would clearly be a villain. Five years ago, *Beyond Therapy*, an amiable stage comedy about bisexuals, was well received in London, but audiences at screenings of the forthcoming movie version are uneasy with it. Even to blasé sophisticates, bisexuality is becoming ethically questionable.

When Health Secretary Bowen called for a change in life-style, he was asking a great deal of human nature. Throughout history, even in straitlaced cultures or eras of inhibition, sex is always the genie that cannot be contained in the bottle. Its heedless imperatives mostly seize the young: the least disciplined, least knowledgeable and least likely segment of society to take any thought for the morrow or have any intimations of their own mortality. And there are those in any society who are forever young, or venturesome, or lonely or simply careless. To pause on the downhill slope of passion, to call time out from rapture and contemplate that this single act could be fatal, is only marginally more imaginable than the pause that too seldom occurs to consider whether this single act will create an unwanted life.

Coping with the specter of AIDS is particularly difficult for the heirs of the American sexual revolution, probably smaller in numbers than advertised but nonetheless vehement in the assertion of a freer, more open set of mores for sexual conduct. Should AIDS spread in the most pessimistic proportions projected, there may finally sound a general alert, resulting in an increase in monogamy, in abstinence, in widespread acceptance of tough new rules of the game. But unless and until that point comes, the casualties may needlessly mount.

—By Martha Smilgis. Reported by Scott Brown/Los Angeles, Dave Morrow/Atlanta and Leslie Whitaker/New York



# "You Haven't Heard Anything Yet"

*Health officials wrestle with the onslaught of history's newest epidemic*



It was A.D. 1348, one year after the bubonic plague, or black death, had begun its devastating rampage through Europe. In a famous medical treatise French Surgeon Guy de Chauliac of Avignon recalled his impressions of the horror around him: "The father did not visit the son nor the son the father. Charity was dead and hope abandoned... For self-preservation there was nothing better than to flee the region before becoming infected."

Guy's patients died within five days of falling ill. Cities were decimated in a matter of months. The scourge was so contagious that, according to Guy, "no one could approach or even see a patient without taking the disease." By the time the epidemic subsided a few years later, at least a quarter to a third of all Europeans—perhaps 25 million people—had perished.

Today's plague is a very different beast. AIDS works its way through a population slowly, over a period of years and even decades. It also tends to kill slowly, laying waste the immune system so that patients fall prey to a debilitating succession of infections. Unlike the plague of Guy's era, it is spread only through the most intimate forms of human contact: sexual intercourse, childbearing, the sharing of contaminated blood or needles.

Yet as the AIDS death toll climbs and statisticians project its probable course into the next decade, comparisons with history's greatest killers begin to make sense. "If we can't make progress, we face the dreadful prospect of a worldwide death toll in the tens of millions a decade from now," warned Health and Human Services Secretary Otis Bowen at a recent gathering of the National Press Club. Such earlier epidemics as typhus, smallpox and even the black death will "look very pale by comparison," he continued. "You haven't read or heard of anything yet."

The projections, if accurate, would bear him out:

- Cases of AIDS have been reported in 85 countries, though the World Health Organization suspects that the disease has actually struck as many as 100 nations. WHO officials estimate that between 5 million and 10 million people around the world now carry the AIDS virus, and that as many as 100 million will become infected during the next ten years.

- In the U.S., more than 30,000 cases



**Allegory of bubonic plague in London, 1665**

*Past scourges may "pale by comparison."*

have been reported, and another 1.5 million people are thought to be carriers. If the epidemic continues to spread at its current rate, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta predicts, the total number of cases will reach 270,000 over the next five years, while total AIDS



**Koop addressing religious broadcasters**

deaths will rise to 179,000. Fearsome as that count is, it falls short of the tolls taken by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 (500,000 U.S. deaths) and by polio in the mid-'40s to mid-'50s (360,000 cases with 20,000 deaths). But then again, AIDS is still gathering steam.

- In Africa, as many as 2 million to 5 million may already be infected, and in ten years, predicts Epidemiologist B. Frank Polk, of Johns Hopkins University, "some countries could lose 25% of their population." The loss in terms of the economy and social structure could well equal the black death's ruination of medieval Europe.

- AIDS is posing an economic threat in the U.S. The cost of caring for victims of the disease, many of whom are denied health insurance, is already estimated to exceed a billion dollars a year. By 1991 AIDS medical bills could total as much as \$14 billion annually, according to Health Economist Anne Scitovsky of the Palo Alto (Calif.) Medical Research Foundation, "and that does not begin to address the loss in productivity from the death of people in the prime of life."

- The prognosis for carriers of the virus seems bleaker than previously imagined. While public health officials first believed that perhaps 10% of those infected would go on to develop AIDS, evidence now suggests that at least 50% of them will progress to the full-blown disease. As more cases are reported, researchers have come to realize that the chances of developing AIDS are greater in the second five years after infection than in the first. "As time goes on," says Dr. James Curran, a top AIDS epidemiologist at the CDC, "only a minority of infected people will remain healthy. I feel less optimistic about a normal life span for any infected person."

But for all the staggering statistics, frightening findings and apocalyptic statements, uncertainties abound. Few experts expect the situation in the U.S. ever to reach the catastrophic proportions evident in Central Africa. While the African epidemic is spreading throughout the general population, in the U.S. it is concentrated among high-risk groups: homosexual and bisexual men and intravenous drug abusers. The proportion of heterosexual cases, however, is increasing at a worrisome rate. For the present the heterosexuals facing the greatest threat are those most likely to consort with infected drug addicts: mainly the inner-city poor, who tend to be black or Hispanic. "Two-



thirds of the heterosexual cases now are black and Hispanic, concentrated on the East Coast," says Curran. "I would predict that AIDS would spread fastest in those communities."

The most encouraging difference between AIDS and epidemics of the past is the pace at which medicine is coming to grips with the crisis. "We're talking about a disease that was recognized from a practical point of view only in 1981," says Dr. Samuel Broder, who oversees the development of anti-AIDS

difficult goal to achieve; researchers have had little success so far with such natural immune boosters as alpha and gamma interferon. Indeed, AIDS therapy may ultimately prove to be most effective in patients whose immune systems are not yet destroyed—those who show only early symptoms of the disease or perhaps are symptomless carriers. With drugs like AZT, says Broder, "it might be possible to prevent the onset of AIDS. That's a possibility."

Protecting those who have not yet

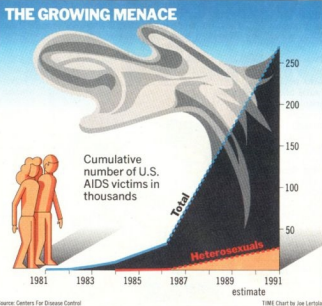
formidable is the fact that the virus mutates and changes its outer coat so rapidly that no single vaccine is likely to be effective against all strains. Researchers are seeking a section of the viral coat that remains unchanged despite the mutations, hoping to use it as a basis for a vaccine.

Another potential solution is being explored by Dr. Allan Goldstein at George Washington University. Goldstein has found that it is possible to use a protein from the core of the AIDS virus to immunize laboratory animals. This protein, unlike those in the outer coat, does not vary much from one strain of the virus to the next. Says Goldstein: "We think we've overcome the problem of a constantly changing virus." Even if he has, it remains to be shown that this or any other vaccine preparation can actually protect people from infection. Predicts Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases: "It is very unlikely that we will see a vaccine available for widespread use any earlier than the mid-1990s."

Until vaccines become available, many doctors urge that a combination of condoms and spermicides be used to prevent sexual transmission of AIDS. Laboratory tests show that nonoxonyl-9, the active ingredient in many U.S. spermicides, can prevent the virus from reproducing. A more potent product, under development by Exovir in Great Neck, N.Y., would contain both nonoxonyl-9 and alpha interferon, a combination that compounds the killing effect. Pharmatex, a spermicide sold in Europe and Africa, also appears to inhibit the virus in the test tube.

Still, in the immediate future, education, not medicine, may well be the single most important weapon in stemming the spread of AIDS. Educational campaigns directed at homosexuals, urging them to limit their number of sex partners and adopt "safe sex" practices, have already paid off. A study conducted at the University of California, Berkeley has shown, for example, that the rate of new AIDS infections among gay men in San Francisco fell from an 18% increase each year between 1982 and 1984 to only about 4% in 1985.

U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop wants to take the message to the general public and even into junior high school classrooms. Though his proposal for early education has met with resistance



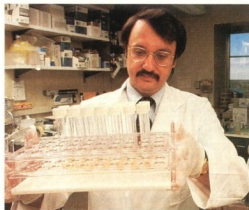
Wellcome. AZT, which has already been given to more than 3,000 AIDS patients, is a source of optimism to AIDS researchers. "The drug has taught us that it is possible to make significant inroads against the virus," says Broder, "even in patients who are quite advanced." AZT not only prolongs survival, he explains, but produces "clinical improvements: weight gains, increased energy, neurological improvements." It can reverse one of the most disturbing symptoms of advanced AIDS: dementia and loss of mental function.

Unfortunately, AZT is not a cure and has a number of serious drawbacks. It must be taken every four hours around the clock to be effective, and can cause severe bone-marrow damage and anemia in some patients. "It's not an answer, and it's very toxic," says Polk, of Johns Hopkins. "Probably half of our patients on AZT will require weekly or bimonthly blood transfusions."

Perhaps the most promising of the dozens of other AIDS drugs under development is dideoxycytidine (DDC), which belongs to the same category of drugs as AZT. Like AZT, it works by interfering with viral reproduction, but researchers hope it will prove to be less toxic. Hoffmann-La Roche expects to receive a license to manufacture the drug within the next few months.

Doctors generally agree that they will need a two-pronged approach in order to treat AIDS effectively. In addition to eliminating the virus, they must rebuild the patient's ravaged immune system. That may turn out to be the most

become infected has an equally high priority, and research on vaccines for AIDS is proceeding at an unprecedented pace. Of the many groups at work on a vaccine, Genentech, of South San Francisco, Calif., appears to be one of the furthest along and may begin tests of a prototype vaccine on humans as early as this year. But vaccinemakers face several daunting obstacles. Perhaps the most



Broder observes the effects of AZT and DDC

"Significant inroads against the virus."



from religious and conservative groups, Koop is insistent. While pushing his program before a gathering of religious broadcasters in Washington, D.C., last week, he declared, "This is not an age for the faint of heart or of soul."

Most health officials believe the Federal Government will have to take a larger role not only in education but in other areas if an AIDS disaster is to be avoided. More drug-treatment centers, and perhaps even programs to give addicts free sterile needles, may be needed to control the rampant spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users. A free needle program has been highly successful in Amsterdam, known as Europe's drug capital.

Government may have to step in where underwriters fear to tread. Of 325 insurance companies surveyed in 1985, 91% refused to issue policies to people who come up positive on the AIDS blood tests. (Many insurance companies are now requiring high-risk applicants to take these tests.) Without insurance, few Americans can handle the estimated \$60,000 to \$75,000 lifetime cost of treatment for AIDS, and most AIDS patients are not immediately eligible for Medicare or Medicaid. To fill the gap, Senator Ted Kennedy and others in Congress have proposed that all states establish a pool to provide insurance to people who would otherwise not be covered. Nine states already have such programs.

Last week CDC officials announced plans for a public forum to discuss further steps aimed at controlling the epidemic. At issue: whether AIDS blood tests should be made mandatory for couples seeking a marriage license, for women receiving prenatal care, and for people being admitted to hospitals and clinics where sexually transmitted diseases are treated. A premarital test, says Dr. Walter Dowdle, a deputy director of the CDC, "could provide an opportunity for counseling and protect the noninfected potential partner as well as future children."

Slowly, as it touches more and more aspects of everyday life—the education of children, marriage rites, sexual habits, health care and insurance—AIDS will transform American society. "By 1991," says Michael Gottlieb, the physician at the University of California, Los Angeles who identified some of the first cases of the disease, "most people in certain cities will know someone who has died of AIDS." Indeed, the CDC announced last week that in 1985, AIDS jumped from 13th to eleventh place as a cause of premature mortality in the U.S. Adults now in their 40s and older remember growing up with paralytic polio—avoiding swimming pools and crowds during epidemics, being subject to quarantines in summer camps. Today's children, says the CDC's Curran, will have other memories. "They are growing up in a society with AIDS."

—By Claudia Wallis.

Reported by Dick Thompson/Washington, with other bureaus

## Tracing a Killer

"Good afternoon. This is a disease specialist at the department of public health. Can you talk privately? The reason I'm calling is because one of your previous sexual partners has a sexually transmitted disease. Would you mind coming in to undergo a few tests to see if you've been exposed?"

"What type of tests? What kind of sexually transmitted disease?"

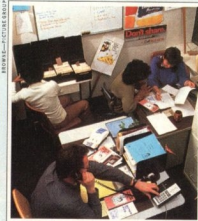
"One of your previous sexual partners has AIDS."

It is a chilling phone call, still rarely made but likely to become more common as the disease spreads and more and more public-health authorities begin tracing the sexual intimates of AIDS victims. Calls of this kind, known in public-health jargon as contact notification, have long been accepted as part of the effort to curb the spread of sexually communicable diseases like syphilis and gonorrhea. But when used to battle AIDS, the practice has aroused a storm of criticism and has raised some thorny ethical issues.

Untangling the skein of someone's sexual contacts can be a time-consuming and onerous process. San Francisco's public-health department, for example, has been tracing the partners of heterosexual AIDS victims since April 1985.

(Tracing would serve little purpose among San Francisco's estimated 90,000 bisexuals and homosexuals; 50% to 70% are thought to be infected with the virus.) Of 114 heterosexuals with AIDS, the department was able to interview 50, who identified 93 other people with whom they had been intimate. Of the 93, only 42 were located in the Bay Area, and of these, 27 agreed to be interviewed, counseled and tested. Seven proved positive for the AIDS virus.

Though such numbers may seem small, proponents claim that contact tracing will help contain the spread of the disease, primarily among heterosexuals and in communities where it is not already prevalent. Those with AIDS, they say, have a moral duty to warn those they have put at risk. Critics



Calling contacts in San Francisco

of mandatory tracing charge that it may feed panic and hysteria. They stress that, unlike syphilis or gonorrhea, AIDS is so far incurable. Indeed, says Dr. Kevin Cahill, a member of New York City's board of health, some people who were told that they had been exposed to the virus have attempted suicide—even though they showed no symptoms of the disease.

Opponents of tracing also fear that breaches in the confidentiality of contact lists could lead to greater discrimination in housing, jobs and insurance. Some places—San Francisco and Minnesota, for example—protect privacy by destroying the lists, but Colorado's health department is preserving its files on all contacted partners. "You can't do this stuff anonymously," explains Beth Dillon, manager of Colorado's AIDS-education program. "If I could have contacted, traced and counseled the 150 gay men in Denver in 1981 who tested positive, we wouldn't have 20,000 infected in 1986." Yet critics counter that such actions may send AIDS victims underground, thus undercutting the effectiveness of programs that still rely on voluntary cooperation. Says Nan Hunter, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney: "You can't torture people for names."

Instead, Hunter and other foes of tracing insist that mass educational programs are the answer. But even with the extensive publicity about AIDS and safe sex, many heterosexuals who risk exposure are apparently indifferent to the danger and feel no need to change their ways. Contact notification accompanied by counseling, say its proponents, might bring home the message to such people and spur them to take the AIDS test. Then those who test positive might feel a responsibility to their sexual partners and adopt safer practices. Those with negative results, having been given a scare, might be encouraged to moderate their activities. Either way, the spread of AIDS would be slowed. Says Michael Osterholm, a Minneapolis epidemiologist: "Only those people who have been given a personal sense of vulnerability seem to be willing to make changes in their sexual habits."

—By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by Scott Brown/San Francisco and Elizabeth Taylor/Chicago

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Seatbelts save lives.

## In the Grip Of the Scourge

*Deaths in Africa reach 5,000, and millions more are at risk*



"Oh, what will happen in this world if we have to die when we make love? AIDS is the century's evil." That lament, from a pop ballad that is sweeping west Africa, probably seems overdrawn to most Americans. Not so for Josephine Najingo, a 28-year-old mother of five who lives in the dusty Ugandan trading center of Kyotera, near the Tanzanian border. For her, the lyrics describe a bitter reality. Josephine is dying because she had sexual intercourse with her late husband. A prosperous trader, he had contracted "slim disease," a painful wasting away of body tissues by uncontrolled weight loss, chronic diarrhea and prolonged fever. The affliction is the most common way that AIDS manifests itself in Africa.

By now, Josephine's own symptoms are well along. She knows she will die, just as thousands of people in her town and the surrounding countryside have already died after being infected with the AIDS virus. Townspeople first attributed the mysterious disease to witchcraft. Now they know that their love-making is to blame. They have seen the pattern of infection as it travels from husband to wife to lover. Fifty of Kyotera's leading businessmen are dead. The streets are filling with homeless orphans, the offspring of AIDS victims in outlying areas. Josephine, racked by fevers, chronic diarrhea, throat lesions and a painful itching rash that covers her chest and arms, now passes her days sitting listlessly on a straw mat outside her house, waiting to die.

Josephine's tragedy is the tragedy of central Africa. AIDS has swept across the midsection of the continent like an ancient curse, and will soon have extended its reach through most of western and southern Africa. In Uganda the number of AIDS victims is doubling every four to six months. Says Dr. Samuel Okware, the Ministry of Health official in charge of Uganda's AIDS prevention program: "In the year 2000, one in every two sexually active adults will be infected." The Geneva-based World Health Organization estimates that 2 million to 5 million Africans are now carriers of the AIDS virus. Leading researchers believe at least 50,000 people have already died of AIDS in Africa, and unless a treatment and vaccine are found, a million and a half more may succumb over the next decade.

What is most frightening about the



The grave of a 42-year-old victim of "slim disease" in Uganda: like a curse

AIDS epidemic in Africa is that it primarily affects heterosexuals, striking down men and women in equal numbers. "Many of us are very alarmed by what we are seeing in Africa," says Dr. Thomas Quinn, an infectious-disease expert at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md. In the West, modern medical facilities, blood-screening equipment and speedy communications may keep AIDS under control. But Africa is on the front line of what some researchers are already calling an AIDS pandemic. The African experience suggests the dangers and tenacity of AIDS: how thoroughly it can infect a heterosexual population, how difficult it can be to convince people to change their sexual behavior, even in the face of death.

The first cases of AIDS arose among African prostitutes in the late 1970s, at

about the same time it first appeared among Americans and Haitians. The disease has now spread to some 30 African countries, mostly in the so-called AIDS belt—the string of central and east African countries that include Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia. Medical researchers caution that most AIDS studies done so far in Africa are spotty and preliminary. But none doubt that AIDS is both widespread and running out of control.

Once the disease gained a foothold, it spread rapidly among Africans in the same way it has among homosexuals in the U.S.: through sex with multiple partners. Surveys of African AIDS patients in Rwanda and Belgium found they had had an average of 32 sex partners. Huge reservoirs of infection exist along trade routes connecting the hard-hit countries of the



Najingo, right, with family members: bitter legacy of lovemaking

AIDS belt. "In the epicenter," says Belgian Microbiologist Peter Piot, "15% to 25% of the adult population is affected. That's really mind blowing."

In Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, 16% of the adult population, including up to 30% of the men, have been exposed to the AIDS virus. Now babies and young children are also being infected, some at birth via their mothers, who are AIDS carriers, and others through blood transfusions, which are frequently administered to children suffering from malarial anemia. In tiny Rwanda (pop. 6 million), researchers estimate that as many as 22% of AIDS victims are children.

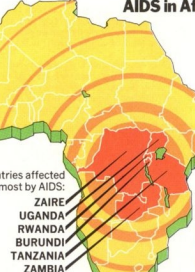
Researchers believe promiscuity combined with a higher incidence of venereal disease among Africans has accelerated the spread of the AIDS virus. Last November the nonprofit London-based Panos Institute reported that the rate of gonorrhea per 100,000 people was 10,000 in Kampala, Uganda, and 7,000 in Nairobi, Kenya, compared with about 975 in New York City and 310 in London. A study of 800 Nairobi prostitutes showed that 88% carried the AIDS virus and more than half had some sort of venereal disease. The women reportedly had an average of 1,000 clients a year.

The geometric explosion of AIDS has been aggravated in part by the slowness of most African governments to launch vigorous anti-AIDS information campaigns. Such programs as there have been complicated by extraordinary problems with funding, manpower, transportation to remote areas and, significantly, language. In Uganda, for example, 22 different tongues are spoken among the 14 million people. The message of the government's anti-AIDS campaign to "Love Carefully" has been translated into only ten of them.

Another key factor in the transmission of the disease is the unwillingness of

many heterosexual men to change their sexual practices. "We tell people this disease is caused by sexual intercourse and they laugh," says Louis Ocherro, who heads Uganda's AIDS education program. "They say, 'But we've been having that for years and never got such a thing.'" Nor has the American boom in the use of condoms yet taken hold among most Af-

ricans. "Condoms here are regarded as something dirty," says Ocherro, "something you use on harlots." The resistance extends into elite circles. A frank lecture last year to a group of medical students at the University of Zambia on the dangers of taking too many sexual partners was greeted with jeers and derision.



The first line of defense against AIDS in most countries is the state-run health-care system. Many poorly equipped facilities are already badly strained by a flood of AIDS patients. One study noted that the cost of treating ten AIDS patients in the U.S.—about \$450,000—is more than the entire budget of one large Zairian hospital. Clinics and hospitals are now routinely discharging AIDS patients after emergency treatment to make room for those who can be effectively treated. Doctors often have to make painful decisions. A case of bacterial pneumonia can be cured with \$5 or \$6 worth of drugs, for example, while cryptococcal meningitis, a frequent manifestation of AIDS infection in east Africa, costs \$1,000 to treat—and the patient is certain to die.

While African nations so far have not been destabilized by AIDS, there are signs

of trouble ahead. Most of the victims are young people between the ages of 19 and 40. African governments are therefore bracing for the loss of many of their best and brightest. "I believe that AIDS will have a major impact on the development of Africa," says Microbiologist Piot. "The ones who are dying are the young adults in whom governments have invested the most in terms of education."

For now, African officials seem more concerned with the short-term economic impact. While most governments have stopped denying that the AIDS threat exists, officials fearful that publicity about the AIDS epidemic will hurt tourism and foreign investment have continued to play it down. In Zambia, the Lusaka government banned all press statements on AIDS last March. Government officials are "putting their heads in the sand and hoping the disease cures itself," charges one Zambian doctor, who expects to see "scores of thousands of deaths from AIDS" in the next two years.

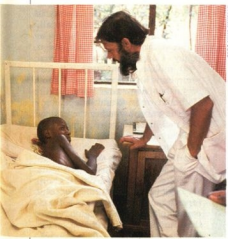
In Kenya, the press has relentlessly attacked Western news reports on the AIDS epidemic. The latest flap came after London's *Daily Mail* reported that Prince Charles would carry his own supply of blood with him on an upcoming trip to the continent. PRINCE CHARLES SCARED OF AIDS! screamed the headline in the Kenya Times.

In the West, AIDS experts are watching the infection race across Africa with mounting apprehension. Says Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases: "The potential is devastating. Even the reality is a very serious situation." Still,

few experts expect that AIDS will penetrate the heterosexual population in the West as rapidly or as pervasively as it has in Africa. The reason: factors such as unscreened blood transfusions, rampant venereal disease and unsterilized hospital needles are not common in Europe and the U.S., as they are in Africa. In addition, vigorous AIDS education campaigns appear to have the potential to slow down the rate of new infections.

Should AIDS somehow deeply invade heterosexual populations elsewhere, Africa has a stark lesson to teach about how suddenly and inexorably the disease can erode and destroy the comfortable assumptions and familiar habits of a more advanced culture that believes itself immune to the most primitive—and frightening—forces of nature.

—By Michael S. Serrill. Reported by Jim Fish/Lusaka and Maryanne Vollers/Kyotera



Hard decisions: patient and doctor in Tanzania



Spreading the word



# Press

## The War That No One Can Cover

*Reporting on the Nicaraguan contras is a frustrating standoff*

**D**riving to the sleepy Honduran market town of Las Trojes, the visitor travels along a dirt track that hugs the Nicaraguan border. The boundary is no more than a hundred yards away in most places, marked by three strands of barbed wire clinging to rotting posts hidden in chest-high grass. At a point where the road elbows its way out of forested hills and runs through open country, a Honduran soldier on patrol warns, "The Sandinistas will shoot at anybody." No wonder. Thousands of U.S.-backed *contras* have infiltrated that barbed-wire border to set up a base camp nearly 20 miles inside Nicaragua.

Las Trojes, however, is the closest journalists can get these days to covering the elusive war between the Sandinistas and the *contras*. For the past year, not a single reporter for a major U.S. publication or TV network has been allowed past Las Trojes to spend time with the *contras*. Questions about whether the *contras* received money from U.S. arms sales to Iran dominate the headlines and the Reagan Administration vows to seek continued aid for the rebels, but there is little reporting on exactly how the *contras* are faring in the field. Even after thousands of newly armed rebels began streaming into Nicaragua in December for what *contra* and U.S. officials describe as a make-or-break offensive, reporters have had no better luck. Says *Newsday* Correspondent Jim Mulvaney: "We are not really covering this war."

The news blackout is largely the work of Honduran President José Azcona Hoya, who took office in early 1986. Honduran officials have always been reluctant to admit that the *contras* launched attacks from Honduran soil, but Azcona has gone one step further by blocking access to camps on both sides of the border. Honduran soldiers guard the road from Las Trojes to the base inside Nicaragua, and the government has refused to issue passes to reporters. A few daring souls have sneaked into the camp by resorting to subterfuge or bush paths, but usually such ventures involve a grueling and dangerous ten-hour hike. Occasionally, Honduran officials will sponsor a press junket to the Las Trojes region, but only under tightly controlled circumstances. "It gets more

frustrating all the time," complains a U.S. photographer based in Tegucigalpa. "You are just not allowed to get anywhere near any kind of action even if it is patently safe."

Rebel leaders and U.S. embassy officials in the region insist that they favor more coverage, but CIA officers apparently feel different. "There are turf and policy battles going on," says an observer fa-

ing but uninformative. On a good day, a journalist might run into *Contra* Leaders Adolfo Calero or Enrique Bermudez, but they are not always forthcoming.

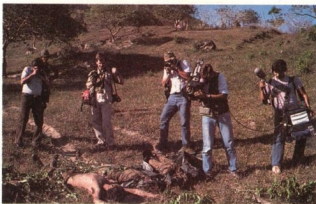
Most reporters rely on Honduran sources or travel the four hours to Las Trojes to interview refugees from the border fighting. Some check in regularly at the U.S. embassy, a heavily guarded building on a hill overlooking downtown Tegucigalpa, but officials there are generally wary of the press. "This region is the kindergarten of overseas journalism," complains a veteran officer. "A lot of the people working in this area are young and committed and out to crucify U.S. policy to advance their careers. They don't care about ground rules or anything. So I am less open than I would like to be."

Reliable details about the war are equally hard to get from the Nicaraguans. Managua's numbingly ponderous bureaucracy is a major and perhaps deliberate obstacle. Newsmen in the capital can grow old filling out endless forms for everything from an interview with a minor official to permission to travel to contested areas. And they can grow even older waiting for official approval. Many visitors give up after a week or two and head for home. "The gov-

ernment says war, war, war, but they won't let us cover it," says Jan Howard, a Managua-based reporter for CNN. "The biggest complaint among the press here is lack of access to information."

Caught in a crossfire of deceit, red tape, censorship and logistics, truth is usually an early casualty in any war. Guerrilla conflicts are especially difficult to cover, since there are no front lines and battles are usually fleeting. Nonetheless, the secrecy surrounding the *contras* is both excessive and ill conceived. After all, the Reagan Administration has made the rebel effort a centerpiece of its foreign policy. Congress, which approved \$100 million in military aid last summer, is likely to debate the issue of further help later this month. Without extensive and independent reporting about whether the *contras* are making progress, Congress—and the public, for that matter—will have no objective way to judge whether the cause is worthy of continued support. "Whistle-stop tours by Congressmen to a *contra* camp are obviously no substitutes for solid reporting on the war," says a European diplomat in the region. "Neither are guided tours put on by the Sandinistas."

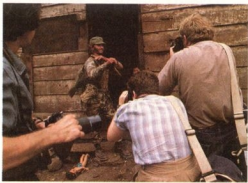
—By John Borrell/



Viewing bodies of Sandinista soldiers displayed by Hondurans last year. Opportunities for coverage are limited to tightly controlled junkets.

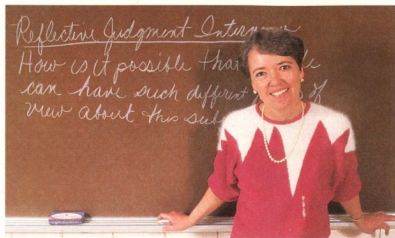
miliar with the guerrilla operation. "The State Department wants to provide access for correspondents because it needs to convince Congress that continued *contra* funding is worthwhile. The CIA reckons the chances of winning are better without the press looking over its shoulder."

While these battles over access are waged, correspondents struggle to fill their notebooks with anything more than rumor or innuendo. They follow a well-trodden path to the *contra* offices in a sprawling bungalow on the outskirts of Tegucigalpa. The spokesperson is charm-



A Nicaraguan reservist poses on a Managua-sponsored tour

# Education



Kitchener with an interview question: maybe wisdom does come only with age

## Can Colleges Teach Thinking?

*Maybe not, suggests a new test measuring "reflective judgment"*

**L**ots of information may be crammed into their heads, but U.S. college students too often fall short in the ability to think critically and reason their way to a sound conclusion. What they seem geared to, says Professor Kurt Fischer of the Harvard School of Education, is giving the "answer, as opposed to learning how to make a good argument." Some experts blame the nation's colleges for this, saying they fail in their vaunted claim to teach people to think. But two researchers who have devised a new way to measure reasoning power now believe most college students are not ready for mature critical thinking. Wisdom, the researchers suggest, really does come only with age.

"Some claim that we can teach critical thinking to people of any age if we can figure out how to do it," says Karen Strohm Kitchener, 43, assistant professor of education at the University of Denver. "What we are saying is that [such thinking] is a developmental process and that mature judgment doesn't develop until the middle or even the late 20s."

Kitchener and Patricia King, 36, assistant professor at Bowling Green State University's college of education in Ohio, began work on the theory ten years ago when both were doctoral candidates at the University of Minnesota. They have now completed a study of some 1,000 "reflective-judgment interviews" with males and females of varying backgrounds, ages 14 to 55. The subjects evaluated four problems that have no right or wrong answers but are, in Kitchener's words, "the kind of problems most

commonly faced in adulthood." Example: "Creation stories . . . suggest that a divine being created the earth and its people. Scientists claim, however, that people evolved from lower forms." Among the responses to this, one 18-year-old freshman brushed off anthropologists' arguments for evolution and came down on the side of the biblical dogma. But a graduate student in social science called both views "sets of ideas that have evolved from different positions . . . and so it's very hard to argue against one or the other and to present supporting statements." Similar analyses were offered by others, independent of religious background.

From such results, Kitchener and King postulate that reflective judgment tends to hatch in the preteen years and to progress, ideally, through seven stages. Individuals at the first two of these levels, they say, react like the freshman, accepting preordained conclusions that come from supposedly incontrovertible authority. At the next two stages, generally from 18 to 21, people grow skeptical of the notion that anything can be rationally known and justify beliefs by what feels right. At levels five and six (ages 22 to 25), represented by the

graduate student, they see reality as a matter of interpretation, with knowledge entirely subjective. The highest level conceals personal bias but assumes that inquiry can cut through to approximations of reality—for example, accepting the preponderant physical evidence of evolution while not necessarily denying the more abstract claims of creation.



Fellow Tester King

King and Kitchener's work departs from widely accepted theories like those of the celebrated Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget. He also described levels of readiness for certain kinds of reasoning, concluding that logical thought begins by age 7 and by 12 escalates to the ability to deal with abstractions like the future. "His emphasis was on logical reasoning," says King. "We are looking at a different domain of problem solving." In that domain, adds Kitchener, "logic alone is not enough for mature judgments."

Though still experimental, the reflective-judgment yardstick has attracted the interest of cognitive scholars around the country. One psychologist who edits a journal in the field privately describes Kitchener and King as "on the cutting edge" of as yet uncharted research. Some experts, like Irving Sigel, research scientist for the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, N.J., consider the interviews a promising new means for assessing "whether a student has the skills to go about understanding and solving new problems." Harvard's Fischer is particularly hopeful about the potential for measuring the broad-gauge effects of a college education. Indeed, Kitchener will be joining Fischer this year and next to study just how successful colleges may be in developing critical thinking.

—By Ezra Bowen.  
Reported by Joelle Attinger/Boston and Harry Kelly/Chicago

## B Is for Billion

*Stanford drives for a record*

**W**hat is a billion dollars these days? Merely one-half of 1% of the annual federal deficit. But such a sum would seem beyond the grandest aspirations of higher education. Not so. Stanford University is announcing this week that it will seek \$1.1 billion in a five-year fund-raising drive. Aimed at upgrading science research facilities, helping the growing number of students who need financial aid and increasing the endowment from \$1.5 billion to \$1.8 billion, the campaign is by far the most ambitious in the history of private education. Stanford's closest rival, Columbia University, is in the fifth and final year of a \$500 million drive.

With the new tax law making charitable giving less attractive, Stanford's timing may not be ideal. But President Donald Kennedy argues that federal budget cuts and rising costs leave schools like his little choice. "Everybody is running hard and not quite staying even," he says. Stanford broke the \$100 million fund-raising barrier in 1960 and was the first to crack \$300 million in 1977. "I have some antibodies to the word billion in this connection," Kennedy admits. "Maybe the next word is greedy. But what we're hoping is that the next word is audacious."

# Religion

## Protestantism's Foreign Legion

Record numbers of missionaries are heading overseas

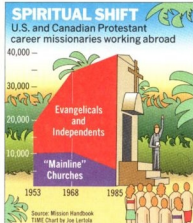
In countless trips through the African bush, Missionaries Doug and Evelyn Knapp have, between them, survived hepatitis, malaria, typhoid fever, other tropical maladies and even an encounter with spear-wielding assailants. Their trials have not been in vain. In the past decade, a revival led by the Knapps in Tanzania has resulted in the baptism of 40,212 converts, 14,409 of them in the past year.

The energetic Knapps, agriculturalists sponsored by the Southern Baptist Convention, are among the record total of 39,309 U.S. and Canadian Protestants engaged in overseas mission careers. Adding "short-term" workers, who usually put in stints of less than a year, the North American Protestant foreign legion numbers 67,242 (in contrast to 9,124 Roman Catholics). It is sponsored by 764 mission boards (of which the Knapps' is the largest), with a combined income—largely from donations—of \$1.3 billion a year.

These statistics and many others are contained in the new *Mission Handbook*, an authoritative volume of data and analysis to be issued this month by a subunit of World Vision, a major evangelical relief agency based in Monrovia, Calif. The data show sizable increases in activity since the last *Handbook*, published eight years ago.

The remarkable interest in low-paying mission work seems to contradict studies indicating that high school and college graduates increasingly opt for high-status, high-paying jobs. But it is no

surprise to the Rev. John Kyle of Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in Madison, Wis., which sponsors evangelical groups at 800 secular campuses. Every third year, Kyle's organization sponsors missionary conventions at the University of



Illinois, where North American collegians gather to consider overseas work. At the last meeting, in 1984, 4,683 students filed written pledges that they would go overseas, and 10,153 more vowed to pray about taking the step, double the commitments at the 1981 gathering. Says Kyle: "The reservoir of poten-

tial missionary candidates on the college campuses is astounding."

The escalation does not extend to all branches of Protestantism. Until World War II, mission endeavor was ruled by boards of such "mainline" denominations, affiliated with the National Council of Churches and Canadian Council of Churches, as the United Methodist and Presbyterian churches. But these groups have lately suffered a "precipitous decline" in overseas staffs, the *Handbook* reports, to less than half the total in the late 1960s. Since then, the expanding Evangelical and Fundamentalist boards, mostly independent of denominational control, have all but taken over.

The Rev. James Cogswell, head of the National Council of Churches, overseas division, says mainline denominations have consciously decided to send more cash and fewer people. "American missionaries overseas cost a lot of money," he explains, and it is "far better" to send support to workers in indigenous churches. Cogswell also stresses that quality is more important than quantity, charging that the conservatives often "brainwash" people with a "very American interpretation" of the Gospel.

The Evangelicals, of course, reject that characterization and, moreover, insist that no Protestant church has an excuse for pulling back when vast numbers of people are untouched by missionary work. Says Robert T. Coote of the Overseas Ministries Study Center in Ventnor, N.J., who wrote the main *Handbook* article: "The Christian Gospel is unique and needs to be known, and everyone has a right to hear it."

—By Richard N. Ostling,  
Reported by JoAnn Lum/New York

## Milestones

**DIVORCED.** George C. Wallace, 67, onetime rabid segregationist who mellowed considerably over the past decade and who retired last month after four inconsecutive terms over the past 24 years as Governor of Alabama; and Lisa Taylor Wallace, 39, his third wife; on grounds of incompatibility; after 5½ years of marriage; in Talladega, Ala.

**DIED.** Donald Aronow, 59, designer of the sleek Cigarette speedboats popular with drug smugglers and codesigner of the lightning-fast Blue Thunder chaser craft used against them by U.S. Customs agents; of multiple gunshot wounds; in Miami. A millionaire before the age of 30 and the world's leading powerboat racer in the late 1960s. Aronow was shot as he sat in his white Mercedes 450 SL. The police have no suspects.

**DIED.** Alistair MacLean, 64, Scottish-born author of top-selling commando thrillers and novels of war and intrigue, many of

which became equally popular movies, including *The Guns of Navarone* and *Ice Station Zebra*; of a heart attack; in Munich. After taking first place in a 1954 Glasgow short-story writing contest, the Royal Navy torpedoman-turned-English-teacher wrote *H.M.S. Olympos*, the first of 29 plot-cracking novels that altogether sold more than 200 million copies. A reticent man who claimed each book took only a few weeks to write, he once offered this advice: "Keep the action moving so fast that the reader never has time to stop and think. This is impossible."

**DIED.** Lee Aubrey ("Speed") Riggs, 79, quick-tongued tobacco auctioneer and spokesman for the American Tobacco Co. whose rapid-fire, melodic chants and trademark call "Sold American" were heard from 1937 to 1969 on the Lucky Strike radio and television shows *Your Hit Parade*; of congestive heart failure; in Goldsboro, N.C.

**DIED.** Prince Takamatsu, 82, a younger brother of Japan's Emperor Hirohito; of lung cancer; in Tokyo. Unable to prevent the war with the United States, which he feared would end in disaster, Takamatsu lobbied for peace during the conflict, saying that "to be beaten until you can no longer stand is stupidity."

**DIED.** Carl Ransom Rogers, 85, iconoclastic psychologist who broke with classical Freudianism in the 1940s to promote the role of the patient as an active participant in determining treatment; of a heart attack; in La Jolla, Calif. The goal of Rogers' therapy was "self-actualization," a term he coined to describe self-discovery and personal growth. Author of more than a dozen books, Rogers helped pioneer the use of encounter groups and, along with several colleagues in the '60s, developed humanistic psychology, which stressed a patient's potential for lifelong development, rather than focusing on his past.




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# AMERIKA

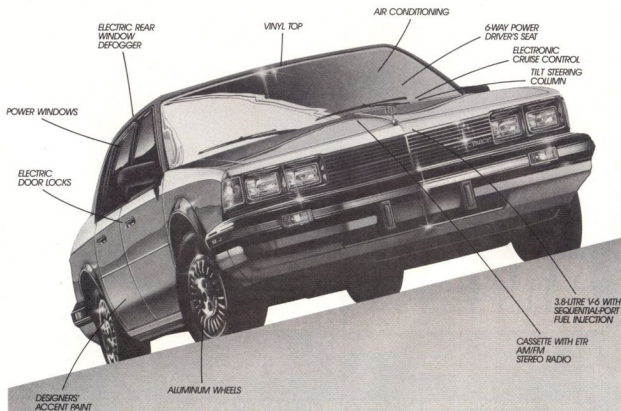
Starring KRIS KRISTOFFERSON ROBERT URICH WENDY HUGHES SAM NEILL CINDY PICKETT  
DORIAN HAREWOOD ARMIN MUELLER-STAHLE MARCEL HILLAIRE  
with MARIEL HEMINGWAY and CHRISTINE LAHTI as Alethea Written and Directed by DONALD WRYE

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### Fremantle Says Good on Yer, Mates

America's Cup comes home, brimming with Aussie generosity

America retrieved its old Cup last week in four one-sided yacht races that showed U.S. sailors and Australian sportsmen at their best. The man who unthinkable lost the trophy three summers ago, San Diego's Dennis Conner, won it back with guile at the beginning and grace at the end, not to mention the fastest sailboat on the Indian Ocean. "I didn't see a foot put wrong in any one of the races by any one of their team," losing Skipper Iain Murray said admiringly. "We made a few mistakes and were a little bit off the pace." Beaten to every buoy,

they finished each race more than a minute late. But Perth cheered Yank and Aussie alike, and no one seemed the loser.

Over these past two episodes in the 135-year saga of the Cup, Americans had to learn from Australians the infinite possibilities not only of 12-meter boats but of ingenuity itself. Somewhere along the U.S. line, as *Enterprise* begat *Courageous* begat *Freedom* begat *Liberty*, revolutionary breakthroughs had been luffing.

Burnham

Then, in 1983, influenced by Dutch technology, a child of the Outback named Ben Lexcen devised a winged keel for *Australia II* that altered everything. Ultimately developing wings of his own, Conner agrees, "It basically was an art before. We're just starting to scratch it into a science."

Still, his art was not lost on the relatively inexperienced sailors of *Kookaburra III*. "They thrashed us with a better boat," said Rick Goodrich, a Queensland cowboy grinding his first winch. And with more than just the boat, Starting Helmsman Peter Gilmour, who jockeyed for Murray in the pre-race maneuvers, imagined on the last day that he had succeeded in cajoling Conner over the line prematurely. "Then I remembered something," he said. "It's Dennis."

The Aussies had consoled themselves that the first two losses in the best-of-seven series might have been inconclusive. Shifting winds made the first something of a lottery,



After three long years, Conner gets his prize  
Enjoying a "new, happy life."

and the second was waged in the heavier breezes that *Stars & Stripes* candidly preferred. But in the third race, just one upwind leg in moderate *Kookaburra* weather told Murray his fate. Near the dismal end of that afternoon, a rubber speedboat pulled up alongside the *Kook* captain. "You've got a bomb on board," they said. "What do you want to do?" Our immediate

response was, "What's the bad news?" Then we thought, "Here's our chance to find out if there's life after 12-meter racing." The bomb was a hoax, but questions of the future hang in the air.

"The Cup's got a new, happy life," Conner said. "She seems to be enjoying it." Still, the site of the next regatta, in 1990, is undetermined. Political winds figure to blow for San Diego, whose yacht club is entitled to designate the next pond. Hawaii's dramatic seas, for example, may be considered splashier for TV. Under the Deed of Gift, only a foreign power can dislodge the Cup from wherever the S.D.Y.C. decides to display it. Just as Southern Ter Turner once defended for New York City, any U.S. suitors must now pledge fealty to San Diego. This may affect the enthusiasm of San Francisco or New York for anteing up again.

Conner's own legendary enthusiasm is unchanging at 44. "Don't be surprised if you see most of us back here in the defense," he said. In that case, Lexcen predicted, "it'll take a thousand years—well, maybe a hundred—to get the Cup back." Although 16 years Conner's junior, Murray declared, "I'm unlikely to sail again in the America's Cup." He is ready to shift into design, where Cups increasingly will be won. By Conner's calculations, *Stars & Stripes* was "at least three-tenths of a knot faster" than his previous entry, *Liberty*. All summer he has been charged with lying in the weeds, and he finally owned up. "We didn't show all of our cards at the beginning—that's part of the game. We had a little tiger left in the tank." At the same time, Conner praised the *Kooks*: "While I'd like to think American technology proved its superiority, it wasn't by much."

Australians do great impressions of Americans, and there was even a locker-room telephone call from Prime Minister Bob Hawke. But the generous spirit of the hometown reception in Challenger Harbor would have been hard to match in the States. Jon Wright, a mainstay trimmer who has now sailed four Cup finals, murmured, "It's these two hours that make us come back every three years." Among the dunked victors bobbing in the sea was Syndicate Chief Malin Burnham, originator of the extravagant title the Sail America Foundation for International Understanding. Amazingly, some was promoted. When Conner was asked his preference for the next venue, his sentimental reply was, "Fremantle, Western Australia." —By Tom Callahan



Celebration in the spray: winning with grace, guile and the fastest sailboat

# People

To activists and pot smokers of the '60s, the police were pigs. In the anti-terrorist, drug-busting '80s, some police hire pigs. *Achtung, Damen und Herren!* Presenting the squealing pride of the Hildesheim constabulary: **Luise**, the police pig of West Germany. Since 1984, whenever the time has come to sniff out hidden drugs and explosives in Lower Saxony, nobody has put snout to the ground like Luise. The prime porker of the Federal Republic has also grown into something of a publicity hog. The 2½-year-old, 290-lb. sleuth on hoofs has appeared on television shows, posed for a prizewinning portraitist and



Frankie and Luise on duty: Das media hog?

**Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Lee Weiner (Bobby Seale, originally the eighth defendant, was tried separately).** Now, exactly 17 years after the acquittal on charges stemming



Rubin, Davis, Weiner and son, Froines, Hayden, Seale, Hoffman (seated)

dazzled diplomats in Bonn with her law-enforcement skills. Says her police trainer, **Werner Franke**: "My Luise has become almost immortal." Naturally a sow like that has a rasher of offers. And this summer Luise will make her film debut in *Blutrausch* (Blood Frenzy), which features her as the porcine Miss Marple who solves the case. At this rate, can a guest spot on *Miami Vice* be far off?

Their courtroom showdown with the Establishment became etched in American history, and when it was over, it had made counterculture celebrities of the Chicago Seven, a.k.a. **Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden,**

from the 1968 Democratic Convention protests, the recalcitrant nonconspirators reunited for *The Chicago Conspiracy Trial*, an HBO drama that uses actors as well as on-camera comments by the real-life participants. "We haven't had this many together since 1973," jokes Hoffman. "It takes the court system or Hollywood to get us together." Still, reassembling the old gang in California was no easy task. Hayden, a state assemblyman and husband of Jane Fonda, and Froines, an associate professor at UCLA's School of Public Health, live in the Golden State. But Seale came from Philadelphia, where

he is studying for a double master's in political science and African-American studies at Temple. Davis runs a high-tech financing firm in Colorado; Weiner is a fund raiser for progressive causes in Washington; Rubin is getting ready to open a restaurant in New York City; Hoffman has been lecturing and writing (*Steal This Urine Test* is due in September). Dellinger was the only one who could not make the reunion photo session. His reasons, though, were pure. He was on trial for unlawful entry in the Capitol Rotunda last August while protesting aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

Her canny performance as Tom Cruise's tough-talking, pool-hall girlfriend in *The Color of Money* scored high with critics and audiences alike. But while **Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio** may be one of the brightest rising film talents, she is not exactly what Fast Eddie would call an overnight sensation. "The way people talk about me as someone new in movies, I feel like I've made my second debut," says Mastrantonio, 27, who was featured with Al Pacino in 1984's *Scarface* and has paid her dues for the past six years in New York City theater. This week could be a good one for her. She is a favorite in the Oscar nominations to be announced on Wednesday, and the next night she opens off-Broadway at the Public Theater in a musical called *The Knife*. Mastrantonio



Prime-time precedent: Bird on *Superior Court*

hasn't picked her next movie yet, because "films are so indelectible. The decision takes time." Especially when one is calling all the shots.

The woman in the flowing black robe seemed judiciously cast as she read her final ruling from cue cards on the set of the popular TV courtroom show.



Mastrantonio: hot streak

No wonder. The presiding guest star of the special episode of *Superior Court* was former California Chief Justice **Rose Bird**. Her Honor, along with four other past or active state jurists, was exploring issues of the 200-year-old U.S. Constitution in a five-part weeklong series scheduled to air later this month. Bird, who was ousted by California voters last fall largely because of her judicial opposition to the death penalty, was asked to judge a fictional case involving the banning of library books, which she ruled against in a scripted decision she rewrote herself. As for her opinion on the unprecedented TV appearance: "There's nothing undignified about it. It was rather nice." The jury is still out, however, on whether Bird has a distinguished future in show biz. "One never knows," she laughs. Viewers, of course, will be free to reach their own verdict. —By Guy D. Garcia



# Music

## Sounds in the Night

*Has the restored Carnegie Hall kept its acoustical magic?*

When Carnegie Hall reopened in December after a 30-week, \$50 million renovation that saw the historic auditorium restored from floorboards to rafters, everyone agreed it looked beautiful. There was a new maple stage, a new floor and new plush red seats. The masonry walls, 4 ft. thick, were replastered and their gold detailings redone. Gone was the dowdy curtain that hung above the stage, obscuring a hole punched in the ceiling 40 years earlier and never repaired. Even the ushers sported handsome black-and-red uniforms designed by Ralph Lauren.

The real question, though, was, How would it sound? Opened in 1891, the Manhattan concert hall has long been renowned for its rich sound. Conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler once remarked that the hall with the best acoustics was the one with the best performances, but at Carnegie, second-rate symphonies sometimes sounded first rate. There, the resonance bathed performers in a mellow amber glow, and at orchestral climaxes the floor vibrated sympathetically beneath the listeners' feet. What did it matter if the subway occasionally added its profundo rumble to the bass, or if passing fire sirens sounded a wailing obbligato to the treble? Musicians and audiences loved it just as it was.

That Carnegie Hall has passed into legend. In its place is a brighter, more brilliant performance space whose sound has a sharper, harder edge. Woodwinds and brass now glitter where once they gleamed. At the same time, cellos and double basses purr where once they roared. Carnegie Hall now sounds crisper, although it still retains much of its fabled warmth. In its new incarnation, it is closer to Boston's lush but clear Symphony Hall than to its former voluptuous self.

Yet contrary to myth, the old auditorium's sound was not perfect. During the 1946 filming of the movie *Carnegie Hall*, the ceiling above the stage was ripped open to accommodate ventilation and lights. The hole was masked by canvas panels and curtains, which may actually have enhanced the hall's warmth by soaking up excessive high frequencies. But the first dozen or so rows lay in a dead spot, and an unsettling echo off the back walls was noticeable in loud, brassy passages. Despite its reputation, Carnegie was not quite as good as Boston's jewel and the Grosser Musikvereinsaal in Vienna, or newer spaces such as the Philharmonie in Berlin and Symphony Hall in Salt Lake City.

Time had not treated Carnegie kindly. The ceiling was leaking, and the floorboards were rotting. Says Chairman of the Board James D. Wolfensohn: "It's not that we wanted to change it because we had the money and thought it would be fun. There simply was no alternative." Under the supervision of Acoustician Abe Melzer, the



The fabled hall, redone from floorboards to rafters  
*A more brilliant quality, though the subway still rumbles.*

old materials were replaced as much as possible with new ones possessing the same sonic properties. Notes Lawrence Goldman, the hall's director of real estate planning and development: "Each element was tested on the way out and on the way in."

Inevitably, the sound was altered. Some orchestral players claim they cannot hear one another adequately in performance, that the communication among them no longer has an intimate, chamber-music quality. Some listeners miss the old soul-rattling vibrations. Says Acoustician Larry King, who was not involved in the project: "Carnegie Hall doesn't shake the skull as it did before." Summing up the negative reaction, Music Critic Leighton Kerner of the *Village Voice* declared, "New York City now has another Avery Fisher Hall," referring to the acoustically troubled home of the New

York Philharmonic at Lincoln Center.

Others disagree. "It is an extraordinary-sounding hall," says Conductor Dennis Russell Davies. "I have the feeling it is more brilliant than it was in the past, but I mean it positively, a spectacularly brilliant orchestral sound." Soprano Benita Valente, who sang there before and after the renovations, calls it a "little brighter, but glorious." Violinist Isaac Stern, president of Carnegie Hall and one of the leaders in the fight to save it from demolition in 1960, says, "What you hear now is this golden wash of sound, and at the same time there is clarity."

A sampling of recent events largely bears out that judgment, even if it is still too early to tell how the hall ultimately will turn out. The Boston Symphony under Seiji Ozawa, which performed Mahler's "Resurrection" *Symphony* during opening week, bloomed in the new environment, but the Philadelphia Orchestra under Riccardo Muti sounded harsh and edgy in Beethoven's "Eroica" *Symphony*. Bass Samuel Ramey effortlessly reached the far edges of the balcony in his triumphant January recital, but it took several minutes before Warren Jones, his accompanist, adjusted his touch in order to project each melodic strand clearly.

The renovation has eliminated the dead spots and the echo, although the subway trains still announce their passage. The removal of the drapery has revealed the full sweep of the proscenium arch, giving the hall a more vivid visual configuration, but it also reinforces psychologically the impression of acoustical brilliance. Although the cramped old lobby has been transformed into a gracious entrance flanked by twin grand staircases, entering and leaving the hall is more than ever a contact sport.

The most important difference between the old hall and the new, however, is likely to be the way performers adapt. The old hall flattered them and to some extent disguised technical deficiencies, particularly in intonation. In the new Carnegie, performers will have to experiment with seating arrangements and stage positions to obtain the most favorable acoustics. "Carnegie always had the reputation for musicians that you could just go out there and play," says Conductor Davies. "Now they must work more to do their best." This may mean that at first there will be fewer memorable evenings of the kind that have made the hall pre-eminent. But in the long run Carnegie Hall will offer a truer forum for projecting the world's musical talent. That alone makes the \$50 million money well spent.

—By Michael Walsh, Reported by Mary Cronin and Nancy Newman/New York

# Books

## The Power and the Glamour

THE FITZGERALDS AND THE KENNEDYS

by Doris Kearns Goodwin; Simon & Schuster; 932 pages; \$22.95

A good story bears retelling, and the one about the family Kennedy is among the best. It has the elements and sweep of 19th century literature: great expectations, war and peace and, in recent years, the whiff of a cherry orchard. In their 1984 book *The Kennedys*, Peter Collier and David Horowitz describe a Thanksgiving at Hyannis that had taken place two years before. After dinner, Rose, then 93, gathered her strength to address the remnants of her tribe. "I want you all to remember," said the frail matriarch, "that

keepers and then as politicians and power brokers. The most famous was John Francis Fitzgerald, the newspaperboy who went on to make headlines as "Honey Fitz," the roguish mayor of Boston.

The title of founding father, however, belongs to Honey Fitz's son-in-law Joseph Patrick Kennedy. Once he makes his entrance as Harvard man, Rose's suitor and shrewd young banker, he dominates the narrative. Joe and Rose begat Joseph Jr., John, Rosemary, Kathleen, Eunice, Patricia, Robert, Jean and Edward. There

when he introduced his mistress Gloria Swanson to Rose. The high point of his social climb was undoubtedly the ambassadorship to the Court of St. James's in 1938. "This is a helluva long way from East Boston," he told his wife during a weekend with the King and Queen at Windsor Castle.

The distance to the White House from the Hub was even greater. Biographer Goodwin navigates it swiftly. Like other historians, she finds the elder Kennedy's fingerprints all over the political controls. "It was like being drafted," J.F.K. later told Columnist Bob Considine. "My father wanted his eldest son in politics. 'Wanted' isn't the right word. He demanded it." He also molded the Kennedy image by promoting J.F.K.'s essentially ghostwritten *Profiles in Courage* and hav-



Joe Jr., Joe Sr. and John: an irresistible fusion

you are not just Kennedys, you are Fitzgeralds too."

Doris Kearns Goodwin needs no prodding. Her generational saga pays generous tribute to the near silent partners in Irish-American history's most important merger. She offers little that is new and no shocks. If anything, Goodwin, author of *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* and the wife of former Kennedy Speechwriter Richard Goodwin, softens the impact of the familiar political and sexual scandals that litter the path from the old sod to the Oval Office. Her approach is to balance the requirements of scholarship (Goodwin was a professor of government at Harvard) with the demands of the literary marketplace.

The *Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys* is a lively compromise, although it is curious how Goodwin can discuss John F.'s political career without mentioning Theodore Sorensen, an early Kennedy ghostwriter who gave the rising star his literary twinkle. She writes best about the Fitzgeralds, their immigration to Boston and rise from poverty, first as grocers and saloon-

are some formidable characters here. Rose was defender of the faith and the stoic keeper of the hearth and appearances. Joe Jr., killed during World War II on a near suicidal bombing mission, was the pick of the litter. Vivacious Kathleen ("Kick") died in 1948 with her foolish lover when he insisted on flying through a thunderstorm. But they, and even the quick-witted future President, are overshadowed by the powerful father figure.

Although Joe Sr.'s millions paved the road to Camelot, money is the least interesting thing about him. His craving for power and status seems to have been whetted by resentment. It is the subtext of many American success stories: the smoldering desire to get even for class injuries in an officially classless society.

In the end, Joe Sr. not only beat the Brahmins, he joined them and established the Kennedy style: an irresistible fusion of the parvenu with a parody of the old-shoe aristocrat. As a movie-industry wheeler-dealer in the '20s, he introduced a bit of Harvard to Hollywood. But back East it was show business as usual, especially

### Excerpt

“Visiting the Kennedys in Hyannis Port that summer, Jack’s friend Charles Spalding was impressed by the vitality of the entire household. Jack was autographing copies of *Why England Slept* while Grandfather Fitzgerald was reading to him a political story from a newspaper. Young Joe was telling about something that happened to him in Russia. Mrs. Kennedy on the phone with Cardinal Spellman. Pat describing how a German Messerschmitt had crashed near her father’s house outside of London. Bobby trying to get everyone to play charades.”

ing his friend New York Times Columnist Arthur Krock lobby the Pulitzer board of advisers. The book won a Pulitzer Prize in 1957.

Goodwin registers maternal disapproval rather than disgust about the incident. She takes a similar tone when dealing with J.F.K. the philanderer. His compulsive womanizing, says Goodwin, was a symptom of his dread of intimacy and his fear of early death. He suffered from Addison’s disease. But previous accounts of Kennedy hanky-panky portray an insensitive Regency buck claiming sexual entitlements.

The author overextends herself when she tries to occupy the high critical ground. She judges J.F.K. as deficient in the kind of courage celebrated in *Profiles*: “the willingness to risk position, power, career for the sake of some abiding conviction.” But she also argues that Kennedy was a strong leader because he was “unobstructed by ideological preconception.” She is on much firmer ground when sticking to her own preconception, an alluring vision of history as romance.

—By R.Z. Sheppard

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**Casey Stengel**

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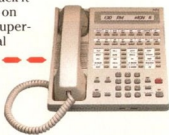
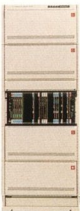
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## Panorama

**LITTLE WILSON AND BIG GOD**  
by Anthony Burgess; Weidenfeld & Nicolson; 460 pages; \$22.50

**H**aving written some 50 books during the past 30 years, Anthony Burgess has no urgent need to prove that he is prolific. Nevertheless, a scant three months after the U.S. publication of *The Piano-players*, his 29th novel, here comes the first volume of Burgess's autobiography. It is, the author admits in a preface, "longer than I intended, and I foresee that the projected second and last volume—whose title will probably be *You've Had Your Time*—will be as long, if not longer." Shortly after this promise to produce roughly 1,000 pages of printed prose about himself, Burgess introduces his opinion of professional writers: "They are not remarkable people, and if they are novelists they are particularly lacking in interest."

That statement hardly sounds like an inducement to rush out and buy *Little Wilson and Big God*. Yet writers' autobiographies are generally less interesting for the quantity of their experiences than for the quality of their remembering. By this standard, Burgess has plenty to tell indeed.

Not that his life, or the first 42 years of it covered here, has been uneventful. In early 1919, around the time of Burgess's second birthday, his mother and older sis-

ter died of Spanish influenza. His father, on a furlough from the British army, walked into his Manchester lodgings on a horrid scene: "I, apparently, was chuckling in my cot while my mother and sister lay dead on a bed in the same room." At the end of *Little Wilson and Big God*, on a Christmas holiday in 1959, the author is told that he has an inoperable brain tumor and a year to live.

Between these two dramatic points, Burgess strings a panorama of impressions, both personal and pertinent to his age. John Burgess Wilson (his pseudonym came later) grew up Roman Catholic in a Protestant country, "more of a Celt than an Anglo-Saxon." He was neither the first nor the last Englishman to feel estranged from his native land while learning to love its language and literature, but his generation was cut off from the past by the arrival of radio, the cinema, "American world hegemony, the dissolution of Christendom." When he begins losing his Catholic faith, the author confers with a priest, who later remarks that "it was a sad business, a matter of 'little Wilson and big God.'"

Much of the remaining story reads like an Evelyn Waugh comedy, told from the point of view of the butt of the joke. The longer Burgess's education proceeds, the more unqualified he becomes for useful

employment. He meets and later marries a spirited Welsh classmate at Manchester University who has an idiosyncratic notion of marital fidelity: "There were plenty of attractive people around and it would be a shame and a waste not to find out what they were like with their clothes off." World War II offers Burgess nearly six

years of wasted time in uniform; he gets no closer to combat than Gibraltar. Then it is on to teaching, including stints in England, Malaya and Brunei, before his death sentence and his decision to write as much as he could to provide for the support of his widow-to-be.

Burgess's story matters because he survived to become one of England's most important postwar novelists. It entertains because it is crammed with odd, intriguing information: recipes for old-fashioned

Lancashire dishes, Malayan expressions for a variety of sexual acts, the crotchety digressions of an inexhaustibly curious mind. "I suppose," Burgess writes, "that a novelist who produces an autobiography has a right to expect that most of its readers will also be readers of his fiction." In this case, he is wrong. People who have never heard of Anthony Burgess, much less John Burgess Wilson, can easily find this book an occasion of laughter and education.

—By Paul Gray



Anthony Burgess

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## Odd Couple

A FRIENDSHIP: THE LETTERS OF DAN ROWAN AND JOHN D. MACDONALD, 1967-1974  
Knopf; 239 pages; \$18.95

At first it seems a bizarre coincidence. The fellow represented here in correspondence with the late crime novelist John D. MacDonald has the same name as Dan Rowan the comedian, half of the team of Rowan and Martin, co-star of TV's red-hot *Laugh-In* series of the late '60s and early '70s. In fact, he is that Dan Rowan. But before we ask what he is doing in such bookish company, it should be noted that he put in his time as a comedy writer and that he knocks out a sharper, shrewder letter than one would ever expect from a former headliner on the Vegas strip (except for Noël Coward, of course).

Furthermore, MacDonald does not come off at all that bookish anyway. Show business, not literature, is the common ground on which this epistolary odd couple meet and swagger and josh heartily. They are put in touch by a mutual friend, the wife of Novelist Erskine Caldwell. Before long MacDonald is asking Rowan's guidance on film and TV deals for his books and describing his wariness of producers who wear "those giant cuff links that must be full of helium or they couldn't get a hand up to their mouth to

take a tranquilizer." Rowan reciprocates by playing back studio goings-on for MacDonald's hard-boiled appraisal. When *Laugh-In* takes off, the novelist watches at home in Florida with a note pad at hand, sending Rowan comments and suggestions for new bits ("How about a TV interview where the lady interviewer does not realize that she is holding the wrong book"). Rowan enthusiastically forwards some of these to his staff, tactfully describes others as "fired." A couple of hopelessly naive notions, writes Rowan, "simply point out—old recluse—that you get out about as often as Willie Sutton."

The two men, with their wives, get together occasionally and hit it off in person as well as on the page. But meetings are hard to arrange; Rowan belongs more and more to his relentlessly successful show. MacDonald is worried that his friend is

succumbing to the tyranny of a popular formula. "One never rides with anything," he warns, "because that is the way to dull up the world. One tries to improve everything with the tools available: imagination, mischief, irony and the marvelous knowledge that the world is mad." Rowan seems to agree, agonizing about his struggles with producers and network honchos, his efforts to break up the partnership with Martin, and above all his disenchantment with *Laugh-In* (whose life cycle, he fears, "will be a death cycle"). But in the end he rides with it all.

The crusty moralist in MacDonald—familiar, especially, from his gratifyingly mordant asides in the Travis Magee books—finally erupts when Rowan and his wife split up. Rowan castigates the self-sufficient woman his wife has become and complains that he wants his "compliant, noncombative, dependent, absorbed-in-me girl back." MacDonald responds with two long, tough letters describing Rowan's attitude as an "adolescent dream" and maintaining that his celebrity has given him an "iron insistence upon being totally right in all things." After this, does Rowan take MacDonald's well-intentioned scolding to heart and renew the friendship on a deeper, more self-aware basis? Or does he bitterly take offense and break everything off? Even readers who get out about as often as Willie Sutton should know the answer to that one. —By Christopher Porterfield

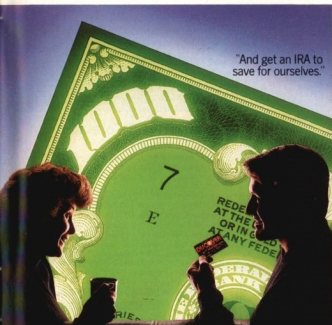


John D. MacDonald



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## Cinema



Life-styles of the rich infamous: Russell and Winger in *Black Widow*

### The Ghost of Alfred Hitchcock

Three new thrillers measure themselves against an old master

**T**he question nags at directors of suspense movies: What would Hitch have done? Like Walt Disney with cartoons, Alfred Hitchcock was thought not just to have invented a film genre but to have patented it. His trademarks—the mortician's wit, the danse-macabre pacing, the elegant economy of his editing—entertained moviegoers and enlightened moviemakers for a half-century. It's not that nobody did it better, but that everybody did it his way. Everybody still does. Almost seven years after his death, Hitchcock's bluff majesty continues to influence and intimidate all those who would make crime pictures. The master is dead; long live the mystery film—but in his portly shadow. He is the ghost of thrillers past and thrillers yet to come, and he haunts his successors as surely as Mother Bates kept spooking poor Norman.

For a time after his death, Hollywood fell into a reverent silence on the subject of thrillers. The few bright children of Hitchcock's style, such as Brian De Palma (*Dressed to Kill*) and John Carpenter (*Christine*), were toiling in the fetid cellar of shock tactics; they took their cue from the gore and funereal fun of *Psycho*, not the narrative crisscrossing of *Strangers on a Train*. De Palma and Carpenter were only serving their audience. The music-video generation was disinclined to track the intricacies of a well-made plot. Those tame pleasures were best left to TV sleuths and their foggy fans.

Then, in 1985, *Jagged Edge* appeared. It was predictable and crudely made, but it was an old-fashioned mystery movie with courtroom dueling, shifting romantic allegiances, an imperiled heroine and the lure of suave menace. More important, *Jagged Edge* was a hit, which convinced

Hollywood that the thriller genre could once again be a moneymaker. So here are three new mystery movies in a familiar tradition: Arthur Penn's *Dead of Winter*, Curtis Hanson's *The Bedroom Window* and Bob Rafelson's *Black Widow*.

All three films are tales of an innocent person drawn into a web of complicity and accused of murder. All three trade in multiple female identities and tease the viewer into hoping the heroine will take one more step in the dark. Now for the differences. *Winter* is a dud in a handsome shell. *Window* has a cunning plot but not much craft. *Widow* rides smoothly on Hitchcockian tracks until it finds its own detours of style and psychology.

**H**itchcock's *Rope* begins with a brutal murder performed by two homoerotic psychopaths. *Dead of Winter* could be the events leading up to that crime. Dr. Lewis (Jan Rubes) is an elderly psychiatrist; Mr. Murray (Roddy McDowall) is his aide-de-camp in blackmailing. As part of their scheme to defraud a wealthy woman, they hire an actress, Katie McGovern (Mary Steenburgen), to impersonate the woman's dead sister. Katie doesn't realize she is taping a video ransom note. Ever conscientious, she tells her sly captors, "I'm gonna take a beat after the line 'There was blood everywhere.'"

Soon enough, there is. Also mouse-traps and bear traps, corpses in the attic and the bedroom, the glass of milk from *Suspicion* and the severed finger from *The 39 Steps*. Penn, who could direct this stuff in his sleep, hasn't. The director of *Bonnie and Clyde* and the Broadway thriller *Wait Until Dark* still knows how to slap a scene to life. In the triple role of a dead woman, her scheming sister and the



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## Cinema

plucky gal who must literally act to save her own life, Steenburgen finds a few shadings in each caricature. But the script (by Marc Shmuger and Mark Malone) begins with intrigue, caroms into implausibility and finally sinks the film. *Dead of Winter* is like an all-frills flight: good service and a smooth ride, but at the end you find you've gone nowhere.

And *The Bedroom Window* is like a bus ride through Wonderland. The direction is bumpy, but the plot, from Anne Holden's novel *The Witnesses*, is reverberant in twists and implications. Terry Lambert (Steve Guttenberg) is having an affair with his boss's wife Sylvia (Isabelle Huppert). Through her lover's window she sees a punk (Brad Greenquist) attack a young woman, Denise (Elizabeth McGovern). To protect Sylvia, Terry tells the police he witnessed the assault. But the road to jail is paved with good intentions. Soon Terry is a fugitive, and both Sylvia and Denise are prey to a wily killer.

Classic Hitchcock in skeletal form: the setting of *Rear Window*; the mama's-boy murderer from *Strangers on a Train*; and even a fashionable switch of identities from *Vertigo* and *Marnie*. There are other rewards in this low-rent thriller. Guttenberg is no one's nominee for an '80s Cary Grant, but his frat-boy smile freezes nicely when he realizes he is suspected of murder. Until she must act the trollop to entice the killer, McGovern makes for an agreeably matter-of-fact heroine. If only there were a little sleek skin on the bones of this plot. The visuals are the pictorial equivalent of *Dragnet* prose; they offer just the facts, ma'am, but no sizzle, irony or insight. So *The Bedroom Window* looks like a peculiar tribute to Hitchcock: an exercise in style without the style.

*Black Widow* has style to spare. Its images are opulent, chic, seductive: recumbent nudes framed by a fireplace, or a couple of perfect bodies meeting in a night-light swimming pool. At times the film seems to believe that no thriller



McGovern and Greenquist in *Window*

can be too rich or too thin. But there is dark substance lurking here, like the avidity and contempt hidden in the all-American smile of its honeyed, moneyed murderer. That would be Catharine (Theresa Russell), who marries and fatally poisons some of the richest men in the world. Maybe she loves them, almost as much as she loves their portfolios. They certainly love her, and they pay for that commitment with their lives and fortunes.

What is this delicate musk that Catharine radiates? Perhaps the scent of fulfillment through risk. And why does it attract Alex Barnes (Debra Winger), a deskbound fed who determines to track Catharine down? The guys at the office, with their C.P.A. faces and helpful hands, share a big-brotherly lech for the hardest-working gal in law biz. But Alex has no emotional life, no obsession but her work. When she discovers that Catharine has the same fixation—except that



Crisscross: Steenburg in *Winter*

her work is murder for profit—Alex finds a freer, more dangerous part of herself. Could she become her own evil twin? Catharine would like the world to think so.

Ronald Bass's clever script never apologizes for Catharine, never explains her. It knows, as Alex does, that "nobody knows why anybody does anything." And Rafelson, in his snazziest stint since *Five Easy Pieces* (1970), locates meaning in each thrill and frill. He gives Supporting Players Nicol Williamson and James Hong juicy vignettes. He gives Winger a role that taps her smarts, humor and goofy-gorgeous smile. And he gives Russell the movie. In the past she has mainly graced the quirky films of her husband, Director Nicolas Roeg. Here she emerges as a golden girl with looks that kill. Separately, Russell and Winger make movie history: a detective and a villain, both women. Together, they fuse as a feminist femme fatale.

The titles of these Hitchcock knock-offs may be as confusing as the identities of a slinky serial killer. *Winter? Widow?* Which is the winner? Easy: the one with Winger. Of the recent thrillers that measure themselves against the old Master of Suspense, *Black Widow* is the one that measures up. —By Richard Corliss

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## Video

### Stirring Up The Comrades

*Phil Donahue takes his talk show to the Soviet Union*

The taping was only 20 minutes old, and Phil Donahue was agitated. Not because of a raging controversy over abortion or the death penalty; the trouble with this particular show, featuring a studio audience of Moscow teenagers, was the absence of any controversy at all. "You are like sheep," Donahue goaded at one point. "Are we going to spend the entire program listening to you tell [Americans] how wonderful everything is here?" Replied one youth: "What can we do if everything is all right? Do you want us to create problems?"

The discussion soon livened up, however, as students grabbed for the microphone to voice opinions on everything from religion to the nuclear arms race. The encounter was one of several that Donahue moderated during a ten-day visit to the Soviet Union, a trip that provided material for four segments of his syndicated talk show airing this week. Though Donahue is not the first TV host to broadcast from the U.S.S.R. (the *Today* show's Bryant Gumbel, for example, spent a week there in 1984), he and his crew were given the most unfettered access to average Soviet citizens since Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*, or openness, took hold. Studio audiences were chosen at random by Donahue staffers (accompanied by a Soviet escort) from grocery stores, movie houses, skating ponds and other locations around Moscow, and no restrictions were placed on the questions asked. Donahue also became the first Western journalist to visit Chernobyl since the nuclear accident there last spring. His crew got footage of the crippled reactor No. 4, as well as of a still deserted village that was evacuated immediately after the disaster.

Donahue was well known to Soviet TV audiences even before last month's visit. His two so-called Citizens' Summits—satellite-linked question-answer sessions between studio audiences in the U.S. and Soviet Union, co-moderated by Donahue and Soviet Journalist Vladimir Pozner—were telecast in the U.S.S.R. last year, as was a Donahue segment featuring Houston Biomedical Researcher Arnold Lockshin and his family, who defected to the Soviet Union last October. But Donahue's aggressive, confrontational interviewing style seemed to confuse and anger many Soviets, who saw it as evidence of hostility.

In his Moscow sessions, Donahue toned down his act a bit, though he had to work hard to loosen up audiences (wired with earphones to provide simultaneous translations) who were clearly unaccustomed to American-style TV free-for-alls.

In the program on family life, for example, Donahue asked a studio full of married couples their opinions on birth control and abortion. The response was almost total silence. A show with some 350 teenagers, however, was considerably more animated, as Donahue hopped about in sweater and jeans and a Soviet rock band provided musical interludes.

The teens (a somewhat unrepresentative group, heavily sprinkled with students from two of Moscow's most prestigious high schools) offered fervent

an agenda," he admits, "but I don't think they used me in any way that was different from the way that we might want to show off our best side to a Soviet television crew."

This week's programs also include a follow-up session with participants in last year's Citizens' Summits, a magazine-style segment showing Donahue's visit to Chernobyl and other Soviet locales, and a satellite-linked discussion between American reporters in Moscow and Soviet reporters in New York, being taped this week. But potentially the most controversial show had to be scuttled after negotiations broke down. Donahue had originally planned to air a debate between 100 Jewish dissidents and another group of 100 Jews who are satisfied with life in the



The host interviewing teenagers in a Moscow studio, with a rock band as backdrop

*"If we can sell them Pepsi, we certainly ought to be able to talk to them."*

criticism of the U.S. for its arms policy and its stereotyped view of the Soviet Union and its people. At the same time, there were pleas for friendship and trust. Said one student who is about to go into the army: "I guarantee to you that I will not invade your country." While most expressed support for the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, one student admitted he would not want to fight there: "I'm ready to die for my homeland; I'm not ready to die for others." Donahue, meanwhile, acted as defender of the American system without jingoistic excess. When one youth claimed that all U.S. policy is dictated by the "military-industrial complex," Donahue shot back, "You have just as narrow a vision of us, if you hold that view, as you accuse us of having about you."

Planning for the Soviet visit began last March. Gosteleradio, the Soviet agency in charge of TV and radio, offered to split the costs. The show's producers declined, but did agree to use Soviet TV crews. Donahue is sensitive to criticism that he might have been manipulated by the Soviets for propaganda purposes. "They had

Soviet Union. After both sides balked at a joint appearance, plans were made to tape each group separately. Then the Soviets demanded that the number of participants be reduced. Finally, the refusniks backed out, afraid of being used for propaganda purposes. As a last resort, Donahue tried to interview a large group of refusniks away from government studios, but could not find a room big enough for taping the show; even the U.S. embassy turned them down.

The collapse of the refusniks program was a "major disappointment," Donahue said later. Still, he was predictably enthusiastic about his venture into East-West relations. "Most of us agreed, throughout the week, that we get far too little information about them and they get far too little information about us," he said. "If we can sell them Pepsi, we certainly ought to be able to talk to them." The Soviets seem to agree: they are planning to air the Donahue programs on Soviet television soon.

—By Richard Zoglin  
Reported by James O. Jackson/Moscow and William Tynan/New York

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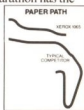
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## Show Business

### A Synonym for Glorious Excess

Wladziu Valentino Liberace: 1919-1987

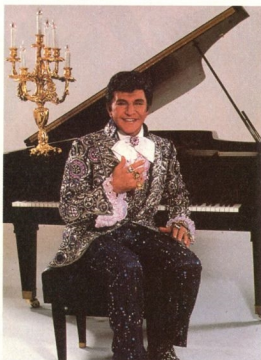
At the heart of every great show-business career is an enigma. No matter how manifest a performer's talent, no matter how assiduously he courts his fans, there remains a puzzlement: In a fragmented and fickle world, what accounts for enormous, enduring popularity?

Among postwar American entertainers, none provoked that question more often than a kitsch pianist with a scullery maid's idea of a regal wardrobe, who for more than 40 years attracted stalwart Middle Americans to romps that he himself once characterized as "just *that far away from drag*." As a musician, Liberace was a panderer: he edited classics down to four to six minutes because, he said, his audience would not sit still for anything longer. He sang and tap-danced competently, no more. From the early 1950s, when his syndicated TV show appeared ten times a week and won two Emmy awards, to the 1980s, when he set box-office records at Radio City Music Hall, Liberace was a visual rather than an acoustic phenomenon. He charted a path followed by the unlikelyst of protégés, from Elvis Presley to Elton John and Boy George: the sex idol as peacock androgyne.

Liberace spoke reverently to his fans of motherhood, country and religion—in earlier days his act featured a woman dressed as a nun outstretched in spiritual ecstasy as he played the *Ave Maria*—but he poked constant fun at himself. His little-boy smirkinness brought out maternal feelings in women twice his age and eventually in women half his age. So did his soulful, un-macho sentiment: long before liberation, he offered the female public a man as romantic, as house proud and as appearance conscious as any of them. They envied his tightly curled hair, his industrial-size dimple, above all, his floor-length furs, sequined suits, neon-color satins and clusters of rings. They delighted, too, in his see-through glass-topped piano, his electric candelabrum that he brightened or dimmed by means of unseen controls, his houses (one decorated with a knockoff of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling), and other evidences of exuberant materialism that he celebrated in a Liberace Museum in, of course, Las Vegas.

Fellow performers often giggled at the persona, but they liked the man. Said Shirley MacLaine: "Lee's a hoot. He always gives a good show." Edie Adams concurred: "He was outrageous when out-

rageous wasn't cool. He was a little kid and nice to be around, on or off the stage." He often suggested that he enjoyed special spiritual grace, and some fans concluded he had faith-healing powers. But when he died at home last week after a brief hospitalization, he was best known as a synonym for glorious excess. After an aborted attempt in 1958 at a button-down, close-cropped, low-key look, Liberace



Entertaining in 1984 with trademark candelabrum  
*Soulful and kitschy, the sex idol as peacock androgyne.*

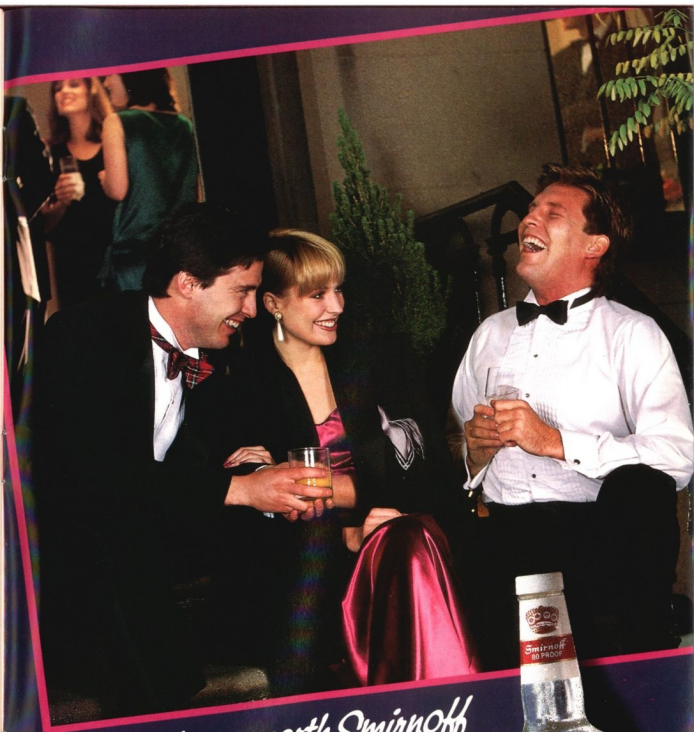
came to understand that in the heartland where he found his audiences, less remained less and only more was more.

Born Wladziu Valentino Liberace to a classic stage mother of Polish descent and an Italian immigrant father in West Allis, Wis., a suburb of Milwaukee, he used the youthful stage name Walter Buserkey and was playing piano in a speakeasy before he reached his teens. His father Salvatore, a musical purist who eventually played French horn in the Milwaukee Symphony, disapproved of the songs his son was playing as much as the company he was keeping, but his mother noted that the boy's jobs supported the family. Trained at the Wisconsin College of Music, Liberace appeared as a soloist with the Chicago Symphony at 14 and prided

himself on his oft-repeated claim that as a child, he received the blessing and guidance of Paderewski. Still, he kept finding himself drawn to pop music—and the rewards that went with it. Said he in 1951: "There's more money in being commercial."

Like many an oddball performer, Liberace appeared fated to fade into obscurity just a few years after his meteoric rise. His first starring film role, as a cross between himself and Beethoven in *Sincerely Yours* (1955), was a flop. His once ubiquitous TV shows were canceled. But he found lucrative audiences in Europe, in Las Vegas and at Midwest state fairs. He survived the 1960s as a cheery anachronism, and during the past three decades averaged a gross income of \$5 million a year. He also dabbled in businesses ranging from antiques to real estate and construction, the latter specializing in piano-shaped swimming pools. Much of the money went to pay for a life-style that was inseparable from his performance: capes that weighed up to 150 lbs. and incorporated as much as \$60,000 worth of chinchilla, a jacket of 24-karat gold braid, a tuxedo with diamond buttons spelling out his name.

Flamboyant in every other way, Liberace remained coy to the end of his life about his sexual orientation. He had a few dates with an actress as a publicity stunt in 1954. Thereafter, he said he was waiting to find a woman who measured up to his mother Frances, with whom he lived most of the time until she died in 1980. In 1959 Liberace won a libel judgment against a London *Daily Mirror* columnist who described him as "fruit-flavored" and "masculine, feminine and neuter." On the witness stand, Liberace testified that he opposed homosexuality because it "offends convention and offends society." But years later he spoke for sexual freedom: "If you swing with chickens, that is your perfect right." Yet he vehemently denied allegations in a 1982 palimony suit that he had paid for the sexual services of a former valet, Scott Thorson; the suit was resolved before trial. After Liberace fell ill late last year, his manager Seymour Heller said his client had pernicious anemia induced by a watermelon-only diet for weight reduction. When he was hospitalized in mid-January, that explanation was amended to include emphysema and heart disease. But the Las Vegas *Sun* reported that he had AIDS, a diagnosis that the Riverside County, Calif., coroner's office decided to investigate at week's end. Said Dr. Elias Ghanem, his personal physician: "Liberace always lived a very private life. I hope the world will remember him as Mr. Showmanship." —By William A. Henry III



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